

Super Tuesday Special

TIME

The Struggle For the Soul of the Democrats

**Why It's
Not About
The Issues**

By Joe Klein

**Why It Will
Last Longer
Than You Think**

By Karen Tumulty

Why Not Both?

By Michael Duffy

**Plus: Exclusive
Behind-the-
Scenes Photos**



THERE'S A NEW DEALER IN TOWN.

These days, teens don't have to go out looking for drugs; they can just go to the medicine cabinet. Even as teen use of "street drugs" is on the decline, the abuse of prescription drugs is increasing. The perception is that they're safe even though abuse can lead to paranoia, addiction, seizures, and death. You can prevent abuse by safeguarding and monitoring your family's medications. Educate yourself. Find out more at theantidrug.com. You can stop the dealer.

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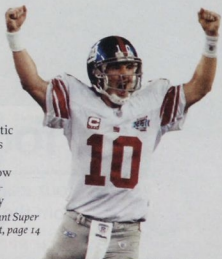
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John McCain The front runner of a divided party, page 37

On the cover: Hillary Clinton by Diana Walker for TIME; Barack Obama by Doug Mills—the New York Times/Redux

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64 | ESSAY: TO MY VALENTINE In the spirit of true love, you have my permission to ignore the day altogether

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To Our Readers

Behind the Scenes.

In this presidential campaign, TIME's great photojournalists get up close and personal as no one else can

I FIRST MET AND WORKED WITH THE great photojournalist Diana Walker when I covered my first presidential campaign in 1988. We were following Michael Dukakis, and she was generous enough to show a novice where to sit on the bus and how not to be the last person to get one's bags from the campaign plane. She also helped show me how to see—to look for the things that others don't notice.

That's what distinguishes Diana—the tiny but telling detail, the curious angle that gives the viewer a new insight. And though Diana has a large personality, she also excels at the thing that's essential for any great photojournalist: blending into the background.

Photographers often do this so well that they don't get the attention they deserve. And our photographers do this signature behind-the-scenes pictures better than anyone else. So let me put three of TIME's expertly self-effacing

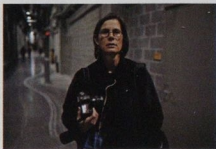
What distinguishes these photographers is the curious angle that gives new insights

photographers squarely into the picture.

First Walker. Her images are special because they are intimate and iconic at the same time. She takes what is momentary and makes it indelible. TIME's White House photographer from 1984 to 2000, she trained her eye on America's First Families, from Presidents Gerald Ford to Bill Clinton, even before joining the magazine. Some of the choicest images from those years are in her book *The Bigger Picture: 30 Years of Portraits*. In 1992 she was granted what would be eight years of behind-the-scenes access to the Clintons. That's how she famously captured Hillary Clinton's examination of Chelsea's outfit on Inauguration Day in 1997 and Bill's deep breath before accepting the nomination for President the second time. Walker resumed that close connection for the six days leading up to Super Tuesday,



Camera ready Walker, left, shoots Clinton preparing for a David Letterman show. Shell, below left, is backstage at an Obama event in Des Moines, Iowa



when she was given unusual access to Hillary Clinton on the campaign trail—snapping her during moments of silence before rallies and private conversations backstage. Walker even lay down on the floor to capture an image of Clinton's heels at the Orpheum Theater in San Francisco. Says she: "We want to show readers the images you won't see in the newspaper the next day."

Then there is Callie Shell, whose personal backstage pictures make her the consummate inside political photographer. On contract since 2001, she came

to TIME straight from the White House, where she had worked for eight years covering former Vice President Al Gore. In 2004 she took pictures of Senator John Kerry's campaign, and since January 2006 she's been shadowing Senator Barack Obama.

Shell says you will never find Obama posing for the camera. "He doesn't care what his hair looks like," she says. "He doesn't care that he has big ears." For the record, so does she—a topic they like to kid each other about. Amid the hurly-burly of the campaign, Callie's images manage to find those rare moments of stillness.

Christopher Morris has been a TIME contract photographer for 20 years. Renowned for his shots of war zones around the world, he began covering politics for the magazine eight years ago, shortly after the birth of his first child. His clean, modern images have defined a new style of campaign coverage. Last year Chris won his second coveted Infinity Award for Photojournalism from the International Center of Photography. Starting with Senator John McCain's presidential bid in 2000, Chris has continued to have unprecedented access, spending informal moments in McCain's hotel room, on the road and at the family ranch in Arizona. I trust you'll enjoy being a fly on the wall this week.

Rick

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

10 Questions.

One of the fastest drivers in NASCAR, this veteran will start the season Feb. 17 at the 50th running of the Daytona 500, a race he has won three times. **Jeff Gordon will now take your questions**

How does it feel to go from the kid to the old man on the tour?

Janeen Pickle, CYPRESS, CALIF.
I love what I've accomplished in this sport. If I knew then what I know now, I probably would have loosened up a little bit and shown a little more personality. I was trying to be what I thought people or my sponsors wanted me to be, trying to be too perfect.

What's it like to hear people booing you?

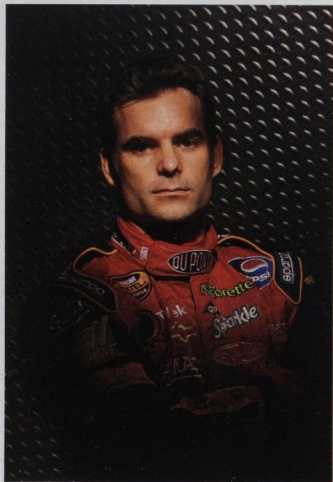
*Gary Schubert
STROUDSBURG, PA.*
I've gotten so numb to it. I get more concerned when the cheers and boos aren't as loud. I learned that a long time ago when people were booing Dale Earnhardt. It's O.K. as long as they're making noise.

Will having Dale Earnhardt Jr. as a teammate cut down on the number of bottles and cans thrown at you when you win at Talladega this year?

*Eric Mason
GUNTERSVILLE, ALA.*
I hope not. I know NASCAR doesn't want me to encourage people throwing things, but I want his fans to be as passionate as they have been.

Why is it that some parts of the country support you and others don't?

Elizabeth Bradley, DENTON, MD.
In California, especially Northern California, the fans really cheer for me. In the Southeast, though, there are a lot of Earnhardt fans. My image lends itself a little bit more to the modern fan, sometimes more toward the kids, and I



guess more toward the wine drinkers... I mean, I have my own wine, and fans love to pull for people they relate to.

If Dale Earnhardt Jr. is in the lead for another win at Daytona, would you bump him and take out your team member?

*Gary Smith
UNION GROVE, WIS.*
No. If I'm going to win, I'm going to try to race as cleanly as I can. I can't say there's not going to be bumping and some

banging. Let's hope it's all the kind that gets you to the finish line still in one piece.

NASCAR seems to be shying away from core fans to go more mainstream. Is that a mistake?

Laura Eddy, GREENVILLE, S.C.
I don't think so. When you have a sport that's grown the way this sport has, you have to capitalize on it. The ticket prices could be a little less, though. We have to keep

our fans watching not just at home on TV but here at the racetrack too. This is where you sell people on the speed and excitement of racing.

Why hasn't Formula One racing caught on in the U.S.?

Mat Smith, CARDIFF, WALES
I'm a huge fan, [but] I don't know if cool technology and exotic cars are as popular in the U.S. as in Europe. We want high scoring, lots of action. Soccer is one of the biggest sports in the world, but not in the U.S. I think a lot of people look at it as sort of boring.

What advice would you give to a young girl who wants to become a race-car driver?

Ellen Hayes, MIAMI
I never try to put anybody in a different category. It doesn't matter whether you're male or female. It's about starting young and getting into the best equipment and going out on all different types of tracks. In NASCAR, you don't have to be as physically strong as in some other forms of racing. You've just got to be able to endure the heat and endurance of it.

What is your favorite car—one that you bought?


*Dennis Abplanalp
DAYTON, OHIO*
I love my Chevy Tahoe. Especially now with the baby, I need something to hold all my luggage. But I'll do some things to make it cool—lower it down, put some big wheels and tires on it, a nice sound system and blacked-out windows.

Your wife is taller than you. Has that ever made you self-conscious?

Rozzie Franco, ORLANDO, FLA.
Actually, she's not taller than me. Just with heels on, she's a lot taller. But you know what? She's beautiful, and I love it when she feels glamorous and beautiful. So it doesn't bother me. I know the truth. ■

To hear more from Gordon and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10questions

Meet Otis.

Otis lives in a shelter.
He sleeps a lot. There isn't much else to do.
When people walk by,
Otis opens his eyes and wags his tail.
Then they leave. So he eats. And waits.
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Postcard: Peshawar. The city used to be a magnet for musicians and moviemakers. Now religious extremists are the biggest show in town.

A look inside the war on Pakistan's entertainers

BY ARYN BAKER

BAKHT MUNIR, 43, KNOWS PORN when he sees it. He scans a display of DVDs and jabs a finger at one that depicts a man and a woman, their faces perilously close. "That's a porno," the fruit vendor shouts. "It's a man kissing a woman." Aziz ul-Haq, the video-shop owner, is incredulous. "This is a family drama, a romance, nothing more," he says. The crowd of men crammed into this darkened shop nods in agreement with Haq. But Munir storms out with a warning: "These movies are destroying the character of our children."

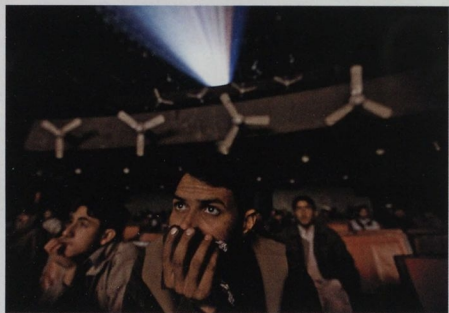
It's an argument Haq and other video-shop owners like him can't win in this Pakistani frontier town. It often ends with unknown assailants bombing their stores in the night. Haq's shop is the latest to be bombed by what locals call the Taliban, religious vigilantes who don't necessarily

GLOBAL DISPATCH

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come from Afghanistan but who take their cue from its erstwhile rulers. No one was hurt by the 4 a.m. bombing of his store, but the message was clear. So Haq is getting out of the video business, as owners of some 40 similar shops in the neighborhood have also done. "If we do not close, someone will force us to close," says Haq. "They are powerful. We cannot resist."

Even though the military, eager for progress before Pakistan's Feb. 18 general election, has reported success against Islamists in the nearby Swat Valley, the militants' campaign against entertainment in Peshawar has only escalated. During the 1990s, when Taliban rule in Afghanistan forced scores of refugee artists into Pakistan, Peshawar became the capital of pop culture for the Pashtun, an ethnic-minority group numbering some 39 million along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. Local producers built a formidable movie industry that served up a formulaic diet of violence and sexism (but no sex)



Perilous pleasures Theaters like the Shabistan Cinema have come under threat from militant Islamists

to Pashtun populations on both sides of the border. This uniquely Pashtun take on exploitation cinema was hardly the stuff of international film festivals—"Those films are so horrible, they should be banned," quips University of Peshawar professor Shah Jehan—but it was an authentic expression of Pashtun culture celebrated by thousands of moviegoers every day. Now the industry has gone underground or moved to cities such as Lahore and Abbottabad in the hope of escaping fundamentalists.

The industry's flight from Peshawar has left tens of thousands unemployed, says Ejaz Nayak, 24, an actor who has appeared in 45 movies over the past seven years. He hasn't worked in two months. "No one is doing films anymore. People are afraid."

Musicians are suffering too. Wedding parties no longer risk hiring live entertainers, says Ivan Shafiq, a music producer. He estimates that sales of Pashtu music cassettes have fallen by half. "Our music sells in those shops," he says. "If all retail outlets are closing down, the distributors and producers won't give contracts to

make albums anymore. And these artists don't know how to do anything else."

The extremists may have a political as well as a religious motive. By targeting entertainers, the militants undermine confidence in the state, while fewer movies means fewer distractions for potential recruits. "These entertainers are stealing an audience away from the mullahs, so the musicians have become their enemies," says Jehan.

To Mohammad Fayaz, a doctor who six years ago decided to follow his lifelong dream of becoming a Pashtu movie director, the recent threats are a new blow to an already unstable industry. Indian imports and the rise of cable television have eroded box-office takes for several years. People worry that cinema halls will be the next target of extremists, he says. "The industry has been in a long fall. Then the bombs crashed the business." Nonetheless, he intends to keep directing movies as long as he is able. "Movies are my addiction," he says. His next film is called *Oh, My Crazy Heart*. In this current environment for the movie moguls of Peshawar, it helps to be a little crazy—or addicted—to stay in the business.

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Inbox



Rating a Renegade

IT'S DISCOURAGING THAT SO MANY Republicans oppose Senator John McCain, because he's just what President George W. Bush promised to be but finally never was—a uniter, not a divider [Feb. 4]. At a time when the nation needs to come together under the unifying leadership of a moderate consensus builder, the neoconservative elites that have come to dominate the GOP want confrontation. The only way to save the Republican Party is to drop the ideologues, who are more interested in waging a culture war than in uniting the nation to face its uncertain and dangerous future.

Greg Fish, COLUMBUS, OHIO

AS A RONALD REAGAN DEMOCRAT, I was all for McCain in the 2000 campaign even as the Republican Party's upper echelon sank his efforts. But the traits that made me admire McCain's Straight Talk Express in 2000 are no longer apparent today. McCain lost my respect when he made a Faustian bargain to get the vote of his party's base. Having abandoned his critiques of the Iraq war and Jerry Falwell, the straight-talk candidate is just a shell of who he was eight years ago.

Mary Elm, CHICAGO

THE RIGHT WING SPEWS VENOM at McCain for his occasional departures from conservative orthodoxy, but it is precisely his maverick nature that the general public most admires. The GOP's troglodytes must either support McCain or watch the Democrats take both the White House and the Capitol in November.

William R. Deeble
WEST TISBURY, MASS.

MAILBAG

Biggest mail getter: John McCain



McCain is an independent-minded leader of integrity—just what we need in the White House



McCain is not the renegade that he—and the press—would like to think he is

Designer Genome

DESPITE HIS INTELLIGENCE and biotechnological success, J. Craig Venter might just be venturing into something beyond his control [Feb. 4]. His creation of a genome might not result simply in whimsical and interesting “zoos of man-made creatures” or “custom-designed pets.” His grand biology experiment might alter the biosphere. It is extreme hubris to think

that we can invent a new life-form and unleash it into the environment. Perhaps the question for scientists is not simply can we, but should we?

Mark Alton, PETALUMA, CALIF.

TO HECK WITH CREATING NEW LIFE-forms. Venter should channel his energies into constructing a chromosome for extant humans that would help us store

critical life-enhancing information—like anniversaries, passwords, account balances and payment due dates. That would truly benefit mankind.

John Herman, DIX HILLS, N.Y.

A Shooting Star

THE UNTIMELY DEATH OF HEATH LEDGER brings much sadness to those who knew and loved him, not to mention those of us who simply knew him from his movies [Feb. 4]. He had so much more to offer. I will remember him best for his poignant portrayal of Ennis Del Mar, one of the gay cowboys in *Brokeback Mountain*. Ledger showed great sensitivity and understanding in conveying all the joy and pain his character experienced. That is the measure of a great actor. For that, Ledger will be truly missed.

Frederick R. Bedell Jr., BELLEROSE, N.Y.

Educating Afghan Girls

HAVING HELPED BUILD OR REPAIR 27 schools in north-central Afghanistan over the past six years, I can verify that education is a building block to eliminating poverty, oppression and extremism [Jan. 28]. I have seen remarkable social, political and economic changes in the more than 20,000 children my project represents, particularly the girls. They are marrying later and having fewer offspring. Children are learning much needed life skills. More important, there is now hope. Despite staggering odds, kids are thinking about the future. There is new respect for the rule of law and support for democracy. Children are learning common languages and even playing soccer together. Schools are not simply teaching the three Rs—they are nation-building.

Julia M. Bolz, Founder
Journey with an Afghan School, SEATTLE

‘Despite his intelligence and biotechnological success, J. Craig Venter might just be venturing into something beyond his control.’

Mark Alton, PETALUMA, CALIF.



Life force Venter has crafted a genome of his own



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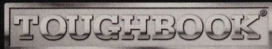


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Dear Grownups:

By the time we're old enough to do something
about our schools, we'll be too old to go to them.
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Sincerely,
Lizzie and Anita



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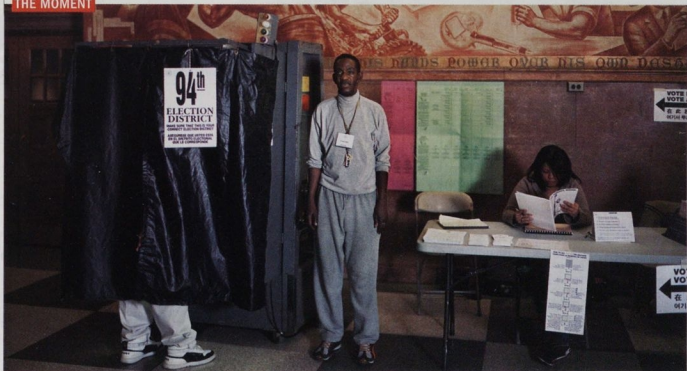
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"The politicians were talking themselves red, white and blue in the face."—CLARE BOOTHE LUCE, FORMER U.S. CONGRESSWOMAN

Briefing

THE MOMENT



Election Excess. It's a Super spectacle, but we need a better way to pick Presidents

YOU'D NEVER KNOW BY LOOKING, but there is a logic behind the presidential nominating process. The tiny Iowa caucuses give little-known long shots a chance to build a name through sweat equity. Compact New Hampshire tests the retail skills of the candidates. Elections in South Carolina and Nevada take the show south of the gnat line and west of the Rockies. And then Super Tuesday—the big time.

At some point along the way, though, the theories of political insiders collide with the physical realities of time,

space and human endurance. That's when the logic starts to go haywire. The candidates grow hoarse and punchy. The well-crafted speeches devolve into strings of half-garbled sound bites. Yesterday's gaffe vanishes in the cloud of today's dustup. Who can keep track? It's a morning rally in St. Louis, noontime in St. Paul, nighttime in San Diego, and—saints preserve us—the campaign suddenly has all the coherence of *Alice in Wonderland* shouted from a speeding bus or airplane.

So it's not the concept of

Super Tuesday that produces the sort of spectacular jumble Americans witnessed in recent days. It's the slapdash execution. "In and of itself, Super Tuesday is fine," said former Senator John Danforth of Missouri, a voice of logic, as the cacophony crescendoed. "But if you're going to have

It's not the concept of Super Tuesday. It's the slapdash execution

something like this, then candidates should have more than a week to campaign in 20-odd states."

Tell us again why the Ames straw poll deserves 10 times the attention from candidates

that the entire California primary gets. Remind us why Concord has the candidates for a year and Colorado for an hour? Time to dust off those proposals for rationally paced, regional primaries, proposals that recur like clockwork every four years in the exhausted wake of another Super Tuesday.

On the other hand, there's something undeniably heady, if not entirely logical, about a supercharged Super Week of Super Bowl and Super Tuesday—something to remind an increasingly gloomy country that for Americans, nothing succeeds like excess. Surely there's a better way to pick a President. But would any other way be quite so rumbustiously ours?

—BY DAVID VON DREHLE



BEIJING

National Aquatic Center, dubbed the Water Cube, opens to the public



AKINS, ARK.

Tornadoes rip through the South, killing dozens



ARABIA

Snow falls

Dashboard

WASHINGTON MEMO LATE LAST year, CIA

Director Michael Hayden acknowledged that in 2005 agency officials ordered the destruction of videotapes depicting the harsh interrogation of prisoners in the agency's secret overseas prisons. At the time, Hayden said that only a few prisoners were ever subjected to so-called special-interrogation techniques, none of which were recorded on video after 2002.

But that claim is now coming under additional scrutiny, in part because of a classified briefing that will soon be delivered to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Sources tell TIME that lawyers for one detainee currently being held at Guantánamo plan to present evidence that he was tortured and videotaped in secret CIA prisons—after his arrest in 2003.

Majid Khan, 27, a former suburban-Baltimore high school student, was seized by authorities in Pakistan. He then spent over three years in a secret overseas CIA “black site” before being

transferred to Guantánamo. Also transferred was reputed 9/11 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, who allegedly ordered Khan to research attacks on American reservoirs and gas stations.

Khan's lawyers, armed with more than 500 pages of top-secret notes taken during recent sessions with their client at Guantánamo, will describe his interrogation to the intelligence committee. Though details of Khan's detainment are classified, his lawyers claim that he and others were tortured and videotaped, charges that Hayden and CIA special-

interrogation officials deny. Hayden, however, admitted on Feb. 5 that the CIA had used waterboarding against Mohammed and two others.

The allegations come at a time when Congress is considering passage of a new intelligence bill that would effectively outlaw other CIA methods. During his testimony before Congress on Feb. 5, Hayden made clear his opposition to that part of the bill, but he may soon find that there's more than one way to uncover secrets.

—BY ADAM ZAGORIN

BORDER CROSSINGS

Papers, Please

An oral declaration of citizenship will no longer be enough for U.S. and Canadian citizens to cross the border. A passport, combination of a driver's license and birth certificate, or a trusted traveler card is now mandatory.



CELEBRATION

Big Apple Avalanche

Since 1886, New York City's cleanup methods for ticker-tape parades have gotten greener. But the party still isn't exactly eco-friendly.



THE PARADE

Some 50 tons of shredded paper fell over the Super Bowl-champion Giants during the Feb. 5 parade (left). Of more than 200 such parades in New York City, the largest—with 5,438 tons of ticker tape—was a two-day event to mark the U.S. victory over Japan in 1945.

THE CLEANUP

Estimated removal costs are less than \$200,000, and low-sulfur biodiesel now fuels trucks and sweepers. Still, sifting tons of litter is a challenge; only a fraction will be recycled.

Briefing



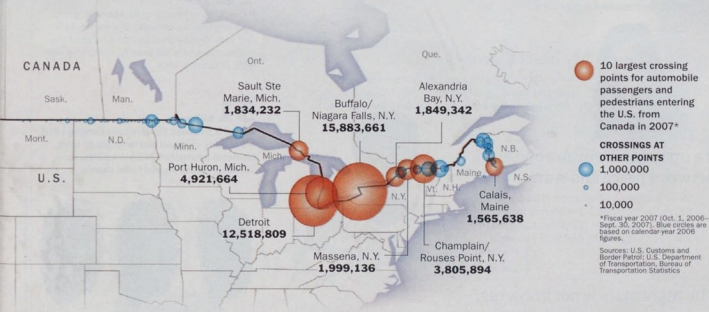
ST JERUSALEM
Is in elevated areas



MEXICO CITY
Farmers demand government protection against cheap U.S. imports



LOGONE-CHARI RIVER
Thousands flee Chad after rebel fighting



EXPLAINER

What Is a Super-Delegate?



WHO ARE THEY?

Democratic Party leaders, elected officials and others who can decide, regardless of state election results, whom to cast their votes for at the nominating convention.

HOW MANY ARE THERE?

This year roughly 800 out of 4,049 total delegates.

HOW IMPORTANT ARE THEY?

In a tight race, they could determine the nominee.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Dollars for Defense

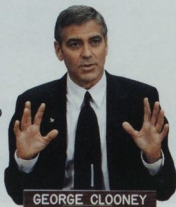
The Pentagon's 2009 budget request is the highest—after accounting for inflation—since WW II. But because of U.S. economic growth, military spending as a share of the national pie is smaller than in prior conflicts.



Verbatim

'Either give them the basic tools for protecting the population and themselves or have the decency to just bring them all home.'

GEORGE CLOONEY, newly appointed U.N. Messenger of Peace, on the world's failure to supply peacekeepers in Darfur



GEORGE CLOONEY

'We witness today that Iran has taken its first step in space very firmly, precisely and with awareness.'

MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD, Iranian President, on the launch of a rocket that likely cracked the 60-mile (96.5 km) mark, the technical threshold of space. An orbital mission is promised for the future



'My heart is broken.'

MICHELLE WILLIAMS, former companion of Heath Ledger and mother of their 2-year-old daughter, in her first public statement since Ledger's death on Jan. 22

'It's up to Mr. Déby to choose between peace and war.'

TIMANE ERDIMI, Chadian rebel leader, whose forces have advanced to within 60 miles of Chad's capital city, N'Djamena, in a bid to force a power-sharing deal with President Idriss Déby



'The nightmare is not knowing.'

BETH TWITTY, mother of Natalee Holloway, on new video footage, taped shortly after Holloway's 2005 disappearance in Aruba, showing a Dutch student admitting he was with Holloway when she died. The student later said he was lying



'Serbia has shown its great democratic potential.'

BORIS TADIC, President of Serbia, after a tight election victory over nationalist rival Tomislav Nikolic. The E.U. now says it wants to speed up Serbia's progress toward membership

NUMBERS

ARMED SERVICES

89

Number of confirmed suicides among Army soldiers in 2007. If 32 suspected suicides are corroborated, the 2007 rate will be the highest since the Army started keeping track in 1980

2,000

Number of soldiers who tried to take their own life or injure themselves in 2007, up from 1,500 in 2006

STATE OF THE UNION

76%

Percentage of Democrats and Republicans who said strengthening America's economy should be a top priority this year

12%

Percentage of Republicans who said global warming is a top concern, down from 23% last year. Among Democrats, 47% cited the environment as a top priority, compared with 48% in January 2007

SURVEILLANCE

\$1 billion

Cost of a proposed FBI computer database that will identify criminals and terrorists by using biometric information like palm prints, scars, tattoos, iris patterns and facial shapes



55 million

Number of sets of fingerprints the FBI currently has on file. The bureau plans to use palm prints as a second means of identification

AT THE MOVIES

\$31.1 million

Amount grossed during the opening weekend of the new 3-D film documenting teen singer Miley Cyrus' recent tour. The No. 2 film, horror flick *The Eye*, took in \$12.4 million

683


Number of cinemas showing Cyrus' movie, compared with 2,436 theaters playing *The Eye*

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Sources: Los Angeles Times; New York Times; Reuters (2); CNN; BBC

Sources: BBC (2); Pew Research Center (2); CNN (2); AFP (2)

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People

Q & A

Talking with Tom Wilkinson

The British actor is Oscar-nominated for his portrayal of a noble lawyer in *Michael Clayton*.

Your character fought for what was right, but many thought he was mentally unstable. How were you able to relate to him? I didn't assume he was crazy. I assumed that he suddenly felt that he understood something he hadn't understood before and he wanted to let the world know. So he would have thought of himself as ultra-sane. I thought that was the best way to approach it rather than to do crazy acting.

Are you looking forward to the Oscars? I've been there once before, and it's a little bit stressful. I guess I am, though, because I'm kind of a fan. It's nice to see all those really famous people close-up—without ever considering that one is a famous person oneself.

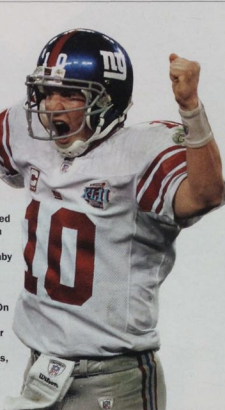
Which new projects are you most excited about? All of them. None of them were turn-down-able. The first to come out is the [HBO] miniseries *John Adams*. That's going to be top rate.

You play Ben Franklin. Is that a dream role? I don't know. He's famous, right? [Laughs.] I got to be bald, which I haven't done before. It's a good character to play, so it's dreamy in that sense. The thing about playing somebody who's long dead is, the only job you really have to do is look a little like the guy on the \$100 bill.



All in the family

Last year fans chanted "Eli's adopted" when star quarterback Peyton Manning's baby brother **ELI MANNING** struggled on the field. Now he's New York's favorite son. On Feb. 3, Manning led the Giants to a Super Bowl win over the New England Patriots, giving the brothers back-to-back titles.



A pile of d'oh

The *Simpsons* probably won't mock Scientologists anytime soon. The group presented **NANCY CARTWRIGHT**, the voice of Bart Simpson, with its Patron Laureate Award after she donated \$10 million to the Church of Scientology last year. The gift was almost twice her annual salary.

CASH QUEENS

This trio of veteran female vocalists hit the jackpot with their concerts between June 2006 and June 2007



THE SINGER	MADONNA	BARBRA STREISAND	CELINE DION
Age	49	65	39
Amount earned	\$72 million	\$60 million	\$45 million
Cash-worthy gigs	Her Confessions tour was the highest-grossing for a female artist	Tickets for her comeback tour fetched an average of \$300 each	Three million fans saw her Las Vegas show during its five-year run

CELEBRITY ROUNDUP

Ending early. The **SPICE GIRLS'** world reunion tour, because of family commitments. The group will not travel to China, South Africa, Australia and Argentina, as previously planned

Apologized. **DAVID LETTERMAN**, to Paris Hilton during his show, for badgering her about her time in jail the last time she was on

Acquitted. **WESLEY SNIPES**, of tax fraud and conspiracy. He was, however, convicted on three misdemeanor counts of failing to file a tax return

Married. French President **NICOLAS SARKOZY** and former model **CARLA BRUNI**

Going off the air. **STAR JONES'** legal talk show for TruTV



An idol's comeback

Cheery *American Idol* judge **PAULA ABDUL** was once famous for her '80s and '90s pop hits like *Straight Up* and *Forever Your Girl*. Now, more than a decade after her last album, Abdul has started work on a new one, to be released this summer. She blames a 1992 plane crash, in which she injured her back, for keeping her out of the studio for so long.



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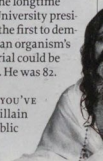
Milestones

DIED **TODDLER TEETH** turned deadly serious—and scientifically invaluable—in 1958, when pathologist **Walter Bauer** helped start the St. Louis Baby Tooth Survey to study the effects of nuclear fallout on children. By 1970 the team had collected 300,000 shed primary teeth, which, they discovered, had absorbed nuclear waste from the milk of cows that were fed contaminated grass. The study helped establish an early '60s ban on aboveground A-bomb testing and led to similar surveys across the U.S. and the rest of the world. Bauer was 82.



■ **HE HELPED OPEN THE DOOR** for modern biotechnology. Contrary to the then widely held view that bacteria reproduced by cell division, thereby creating genetically identical clones, graduate student **Joshua Lederberg** discovered in the '40s that bacteria can have sex, reproduce and exchange genetic material. The research won him half the 1958 Nobel Prize. Later, the longtime Rockefeller University president became the first to demonstrate that an organism's genetic material could be manipulated. He was 82.

■ **YOU KNOW YOU'VE** portrayed a villain well if the public hates you for your work.



The maharishi

Barry Morse, a critically acclaimed British actor with 3,000 TV, film and stage roles to his credit, suffered everything from heckling to pocket-book beatings for his most famous role, Lieutenant Philip Gerard in TV's '60s hit series *The Fugitive*. As the heartless detective who doggedly hunts Dr. Richard Kimble, unjustly accused of killing his wife, Morse said, "I was the most hated man in America, and I loved it." He was 89.

■ **THE BEATLES MADE THEIR** guru famous when they visited his ashram in 1968, but in the end, Transcendental Meditation founder **Maharishi Mahesh Yogi** may have regretted the association. The maharishi brought TM—the practice of exploring consciousness through meditation and chanting—to the U.S. in 1959, and with the cachet of star followers like the Rolling Stones and Mia Farrow, it became a multimillion-dollar global business. But the gray-haired guru was said to have become uncomfortable with its drug-using, counter-culture fan base. After the Fab Four's celebrated visit, the band and its guru famously split. The maharishi was believed to be 91.

■ **"WE WERE ON OUR WAY,** we hoped, to freedom," said British pilot **Bertram (Jimmy) James** of his exploits as a prisoner of war and a perennially frustrated escape artist. "That wasn't quite the case." After taking part in the most famous attempt of World War II—the mass exit from Poland's Stalag Luft III, depicted in the 1963 film *The Great Escape*—James sur-



Morse

vived a labor camp and went on to work in Britain's diplomatic service. James was 92.

■ **AMERICAN SCHOLAR CALLED** **Robert Ball** the "undisputed spiritual leader" of Social Security. Ball, who joined the program in 1939 (four years after its creation), rose to become its commissioner under Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. He expanded benefits, led the development of Medicare and drafted a bill proposing universal health insurance. Ball was pivotal to the program's 1983 bailout and as recently as last year was drafting alternatives to President Bush's privatization plans, which he detested. He was 93.

RETIRED **THE WINNINGEST** coach in Division I men's college basketball made headlines for throwing a chair across court and for several alleged assaults. Still, the purity



Knight

of **Bob Knight's** passion drew loyal fans. As Indiana's legendary leader from 1971 to 2000, "the General" took the Hoosiers to an undefeated '76 season—a feat not since repeated—and three NCAA championships. Knight, 67, who led the U.S. to Olympic gold in 1984, emphasized teamwork, never broke NCAA rules and ran clean programs with high graduation rates. In a sudden midseason move, the combative Hall of Famer resigned on Feb. 4 as head coach at Texas Tech, his home since being fired by Indiana. Knight, who is succeeded by his son Pat, told colleagues he was tired. But he was also following a tradition of writing his own script. Last year, when he broke the record for game wins, the song he chose to play over the loudspeaker was *My Way*. "When I think back on it," he said then, "I don't think my way was all that bad."



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Joe

Klein

Inspiration vs. Substance. Obama's flights of rhetoric are the stuff of legend. But Clinton simply knows more. What this nail biter of a Democratic primary may come down to

"WE ARE THE ONES WE'VE BEEN WAITING for," Barack Obama said in yet another memorable election-night speech on Super-Confusing Tuesday. "We are the change that we seek." Waiting to hear what Obama has to say—win, lose or tie—has become the most anticipated event of any given primary night. The man's use of pronouns (never *I*), of inspirational language and of poetic meter—"WE are the CHANGE that we SEEK"—is unprecedented in recent memory. Yes, Ronald Reagan could give great set-piece speeches on grand occasions, and so could John F. Kennedy, but Obama's ability to toss one off, different each week, is simply breathtaking. His New Hampshire concession speech, with the refrain "Yes, We Can," was turned into a brilliant music video featuring an array of young, hip, talented and beautiful celebrities. The video, stark in black-and-white, raised an existential question for Democrats: How can you not be moved by this? How can you vote against the future?

And yet there was something just a wee bit creepy about the mass messianism—"We are the ones we've been waiting for"—of the Super Tuesday speech and the recent turn of the Obama campaign. "This time can be different because this campaign for the presidency of the United States of America is different. It's different not because of me. It's different because of you." That is not just maddeningly vague but also disingenuous: the campaign is entirely about Obama and his ability to inspire.

As this campaign progresses, their weaknesses—the reasons for their inability to put it away—are going to become more apparent than their strengths

Rather than focusing on any specific issue or cause—other than an amorphous desire for change—the message is becoming dangerously self-referential. The Obama campaign all too often is about how wonderful the Obama campaign is.

That is not unprecedented. It has echoes of Howard Dean's 2004 primary effort, although in Dean's case the propellant was neither substance nor the candidate's early, courageous voice against the war. But Dean soon found that wasn't enough. In June 2003 he told me he needed to broaden his movement, reach out past the young and the academic and find a greater array of issues that could inspire working people. He never quite found that second act, and his campaign became about process, not substance: the hundreds of thousands of supporters signing up on the Internet, the millions of dollars raised. He lost track of the rest of the world; his campaign was about... his campaign.

Obama would never be so tone deaf, but he is facing a similar ceiling, a similar inability to speak to the working people of the Democratic Party (at least, those who are not African American) or find an issue, a specific issue, that distinguishes him from his opponent. And his opponent, Hillary Clinton, has proved herself tough, specific and reliable—qualities that become increasingly important as the economy teeters and as worries about the future gather in the land.

This has become an odd campaign for Democrats. There is good news... and fear. The good news is that this time the people seem far more interested in their party than in the Republicans. On Super Tuesday, at least 15,417,521 voted Democratic, and 9,181,297 voted Republican. And more good news: both Obama and Clinton are very good candidates who hold similar positions on most issues, moderates who intend to reach out to Republicans after they are elected—although, given Clinton's undeserved reputation as a partisan operative, that may be a tougher sell for her than for Obama.

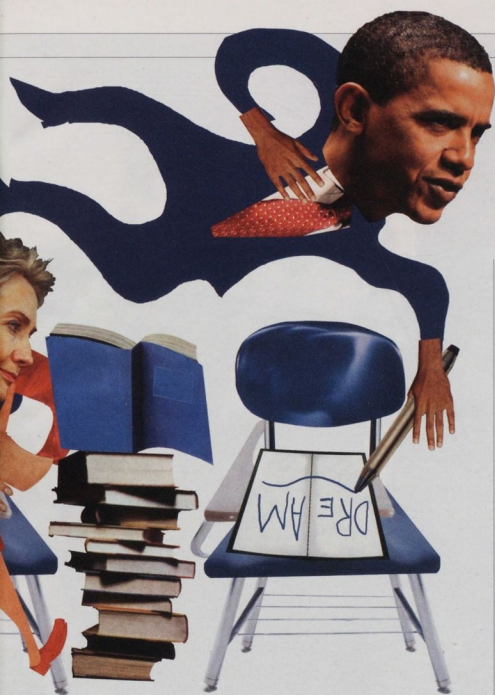


But this is not a struggle for the ideological soul of the party. It may, however, be a struggle for the party's demographic soul—older voters vs. younger, information-age workers vs. industrial and service workers, wine vs. beer. There is also—and I will try to tread lightly here—the classic high school girl/boy differential: the note-taking, front-row girl grind vs. the charismatic, last-minute-cramming, preening male finesse artist. Both Clinton and Obama have difficulties reaching across those divides, and that is where the fear resides: neither candidate may prove strong or broad enough. As this campaign progresses, their weaknesses—the reasons for their inability to put away this



Campaign '08

For continuing coverage of the presidential race, including daily dispatches, the *Swampland* blog and Mark Halperin's take on *The Page*, visit time.com



nomination—are going to become more apparent than their strengths.

Clinton's strengths are most apparent in debates, which is why she is pressing to have one each week. She simply knows more than Obama does. In recent weeks, she has been far more likely to take questions from the press and public than Obama is. That appeals to voters more interested in results than in inspiration; it especially appeals to the middle-class women, juggling job and family, who are the demographic heart of the Democratic Party. Clinton's weaknesses are intractable. They are wrapped up in her husband, who nearly ruined her campaign in the two weeks after Iowa but seems to have been

relegated to the back of the bus in recent days. And they are wrapped up in her age. She is a baby boomer, of a generation that has been notably obnoxious and unsuccessful in the public arena. Perhaps the most dreadful baby-boom political legacy has been the overconsulted, fanatically tactical, poll-driven campaign—and Clinton has suffered whenever she has emphasized tactics over substance. Her lame attempts to “go negative” on Obama have been almost entirely counterproductive. Her husband's attempts to paint Obama as a “race” candidate—his resort to the most toxic sort of old-fashioned politics—only reinforced the strangely desperate nature of their campaign. It was the very opposite of “Yes, We Can” politics.

Obama's strength is inspiration, and it's also his weakness. In the recent past, Democrats have favored candidates who offer meaty, detailed policy prescriptions—usually to the party's detriment—and that is not Obama's game. After his Iowa victory, his stump speech had become a soufflé untroubled by much substance of any sort. He has rectified that, to some extent. He now spends some time talking about the laments of average Americans he has met along the way; then he dives into a litany of solutions he has proposed to address the laments. But those are not nearly so convincing as Clinton's versions of the same; of course, Clinton has a tragic deficit when it comes to inspiration.

There is an odd, anachronistic formality to Obama's stump speech: it is always the same. It sets his audiences afire, but it does not reach very far beyond them. It is no accident that Obama is nearly invincible in caucus states, where the ability to mobilize a hard core of activists is key—but not so strong in primaries, where more diverse masses of people are involved. He should be very worried that this nomination is likely to be decided in the big working-class primary states of Ohio, Texas and Pennsylvania.

Then again, one of Obama's most effective lines is about the “craziness” of trying the same old thing in Washington “over and over and over again, and somehow expecting a different result.” The first politician I ever heard use that line—weirdly attributed to everyone from Benjamin Franklin to Albert Einstein—was Bill Clinton. It is a sad but inescapable fact of this election that Bill and Hillary Clinton have now become “the same old thing” they once railed against. In a country where freshness is fetishized—and where a staggering 70% of the public is upset with the way things are today—the “same old thing” is not the place to be. Unless, of course, the next new thing turns out to be a mirage. ■



Gearing up Clinton prepares for a Feb. 2 rally in Los Angeles. Beating back a late Obama surge, Clinton scored a prized victory in California

CAMPAIGN '08



The Great Divide

After a dizzying, down-to-the-wire Super Tuesday, the Democratic Party is split between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, with a long and grueling battle ahead. *TIME* takes an intimate look at the Democrats' dueling candidates as they prepare for the next chapter in an already historic campaign

**Photographs for *TIME* by
Diana Walker and Callie Shell**



Barack's rock As Obama worked on a speech he would deliver to supporters in Chicago on the evening of Super Tuesday, his wife Michelle walked over, leaned in and said, "I love you. You are great."



America Votes

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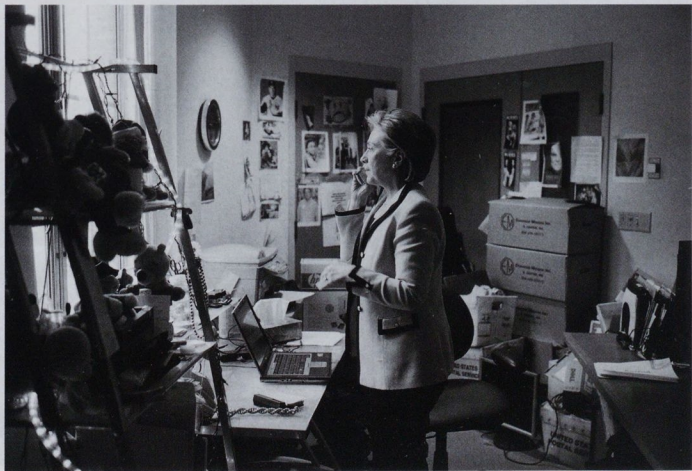
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DAVID WALKER FOR TIME

Prime time Clinton in a brief moment of solitude before speaking at a national town-hall event in New York City on Feb. 4



Celebration At a Minneapolis–St. Paul restaurant with supporters, Clinton cheers the Giants' Super Bowl win



Making her case The Senator ducks into an office to do a phone interview during a roundtable at Yale University on the eve of Super Tuesday



Lighter moment Obama enjoys a laugh while checking his messages during a January appearance in Greenville, S.C.



One-on-none Backstage in Santa Fe, N.M., the candidate loosens up as he waits to be introduced



On the road again Obama, leaving his hotel after winning the South Carolina primary on Jan. 26, had hopes that his early victories might end the contest quickly—but the race has just begun

CAMPAIGN '08



It's Not Over Yet

Super Tuesday was supposed to settle the Democratic race, but a split decision means it's just getting started—and could get truly ugly

BY KAREN TUMULTY



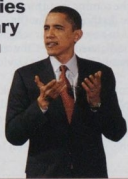
The two superpowers
Clinton drew a huge crowd at a pre-election event in Minneapolis, but it was Obama who took the state on Super Tuesday

THE IDEA BEHIND THE NEW, FAST-forward primary calendar that Democrats unveiled this election season was to give a big, hyperdemocratic finale to the process of picking a nominee. Nearly two dozen states, tired of standing on the sidelines as future Presidents lavished attention on places like Ottumwa, Iowa, and Nashua, N.H., had muscled their way to an early spot on the calendar. Proportional delegate allotment—instead of winner-take-all results—would ensure that every vote mattered. Super Tuesday would be the closest thing we have ever seen to a national primary: a single day on which the candidates had to prove themselves to every slice of the American electorate in states that are home to nearly half the population of the country. It was supposed to settle everything.

It settled nothing. In a result now achingly familiar to the Democratic Party, Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama split the popular vote 50.2% to 49.8%, by a margin so thin, you could barely slide a butterfly ballot betwixt. Tuesday slipped into Wednesday without anyone knowing for sure how many delegates each candidate had captured, as provisional ballots in New Mexico were slowly tabulated by hand.

The grand plan for Super Tuesday, it turns out, depended on one candidate having superior strength, assets and popularity. Instead, the two superstar candidates and their dueling arsenals canceled each other out. Obama's greatest strength was among upscale voters, African Americans, younger people, liberals and those with college educations. He ran even with Clinton among men. Clinton drew strong support from women, older voters, Hispanics, lower-income people and those with less

The next round of primaries in February will be on territory that favors Obama



education. And even those gaps were shrinking, as Clinton's edge among women narrowed in some states and Obama's inroads with white voters increased.

Now the campaign that was supposed to end continues to the states that didn't join the stampede to move their primaries forward. Far from being an afterthought as just about everyone had expected, they have the power to crown the winner. And if they don't? The decision may well fall to some 800 party insiders known as super-delegates. Yes, that's right: the perverse result of all this additional democracy, in which more people than ever before will have had a voice, could be that Democrats have to turn to old-style backroom politics to select a nominee.

RATHER THAN BRINGING CLARITY and closure, Super Tuesday left the Democratic race as confused as it has ever been. Having trailed Clinton by double digits in most Super Tuesday state polls only weeks before, Obama came away from the day's voting having won more states—13 to her 8—and slightly more delegates than she did. But Clinton had considerable bragging rights as well. She won California, the night's biggest prize, and a slightly larger percentage of the popular vote and took particular glee in routing Obama in Massachusetts, despite all the hoopla that

had surrounded Obama's endorsement by Senator Edward Kennedy and much of his family, as well as the state's other Senator, 2004 Democratic nominee John Kerry, and Governor Deval Patrick.

Clinton strategists, perhaps wishfully, suggested that Super Tuesday may prove to be a high mark for Obama, coming as it did after a burst of good publicity surrounding his high-profile endorsements and after Clinton stumbled in South Carolina. Said one: "It's going to be hard to find a better week for him."

Indeed, they are working to make sure that is the case. The day of the primaries, the Clinton campaign announced she had agreed to participate in four debates—a format in which she has dominated—in the coming month and challenged Obama to do the same. But the Obama campaign is in no rush. "Our schedule's not going to be dictated by the Clinton campaign," said campaign manager David Plouffe.

As the pace of the campaign slows considerably, Obama's aides say, that will play in favor of a candidate who is gaining strength against a far more established front runner. The next round of primaries in particular will be on friendly territory

for Obama. He is expected, for instance, to sweep the Beltway cluster of Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia, which has a large number of upscale Democrats and African Americans.

And he goes forward with a growing financial advantage, having raised \$32 million in January, largely from small donors who can be tapped again. That fund-raising haul was better than twice the \$13.5 million that Clinton took in over the same period. If anything, the Super Tuesday results, coupled with additional wins in coming weeks, are likely to bring in an even bigger flood of contributions to Obama, whose Internet-fueled coffers were already flush enough to buy Super Bowl advertising in the post-Super Tuesday primary states.

The Clinton operation, on the other hand, is showing signs of financial stress—something that would have seemed inconceivable months ago. The day after the primary, the campaign announced that Clinton had loaned her campaign \$5 million late last month, a move that spokesman Howard Wolfson said "illustrates Senator Clinton's commitment to this effort and to ensuring that our campaign

has the resources it needs to compete and win across this nation." Clinton has relied most heavily on the party's traditional big donors and is finding fewer and fewer who have not already given the maximum legal limit of \$2,300 for the primary race. "They've got to produce something out of these next nine states [that vote between Super Tuesday and March 4], or they are going to have some serious money troubles," says Obama adviser Steve Hildebrand.

Clinton is counting on recouping whatever ground she loses over the next few weeks in early March, when Ohio and Texas hold their primaries. Ohio is in economic distress and has large numbers of downscale Democrats. Clinton also expects to draw upon institutional support from organized labor. And the high proportion of Latino voters in Texas, her strategists say, will give her an edge. Obama, however, contends that he is making inroads with that group of voters as well, noting that he won more than 44% of Hispanic votes in Arizona. "As Latino voters get to know me," he said the morning after the election, "we do better."

If the race continues to be close after Texas and Ohio, the last big contest—Pennsylvania's April 22 primary—may be the decisive one.

The Page

Politics up to the minute

Mark Halperin reports from the campaign every day on thepage.time.com



HALPERIN'S TAKE:

5 Things Obama Has That Clinton Needs More Of

Internet fund-raising ability and grass-roots energy

A swooning national press corps

Support from voters who are young, upscale and male

Excitement, inspiration and a clear message of change

A close-knit campaign operation



5 Things Clinton Has That Obama Needs More Of

Confident command of nitty-gritty policy details

Big-state strength in the coming primaries in Texas, Ohio and Pennsylvania

Support from voters who are female, older, working-class and Hispanic

Support from the super-delegates—party officials, officeholders and other Democratic bigwigs who are automatic free-agent convention delegates

Toughness and political-knife skills



THE WILD CARDS

1. Al Gore's endorsement
2. The endorsements of former contenders John Edwards, Bill Richardson, Joe Biden and Chris Dodd
3. Possible weekly debates
4. Super-delegates moving en masse to the front runner (whoever that is!)
5. A decisive McCain victory on the Republican side, changing perceptions about which Democrat might have the better chance in November
6. New labor-union endorsements
7. Arguments over the seating of the Florida and Michigan delegations
8. Controversial revelations or disclosures
9. An international or domestic crisis
10. Bill Clinton (the perennial wild card)

OR MAYBE NOT, WHICH LEAVES ONLY ONE other means of avoiding a vicious floor fight at August's Democratic National Convention in Denver. In the past few weeks, the Clinton and Obama campaigns have both stepped up their courtship, cajoling and sometimes arm-twisting of super-delegates. These are the roughly 800 party insiders—including elected officials, national-committee members and state chairmen—who get to vote at the convention by virtue of the positions they hold.

The super-delegates were created by the Democratic Party in the aftermath of the 1980 election for just this sort of eventual. But the campaign for their support is a frustrating exercise for both candidates. Any commitments they manage to secure are etched in talcum powder; super-delegates don't have to make a choice until the convention, and they can change their mind an endless number of times between now and then.

The Clinton campaign boasts that it maintains a super-delegate advantage over Obama of about 100 votes. However, Obama campaign manager Plouffe insisted in an election-night conference call with reporters that his team had whittled her lead among these party insiders to about 55. But these two campaigns should know by now: this is one year when it's dangerous to count on anything.

The Democrats. Clinton takes the big prizes, but the real race is dead even

Contests in 22 states ...

Nearly 1,700 pledged delegates at stake in a single day

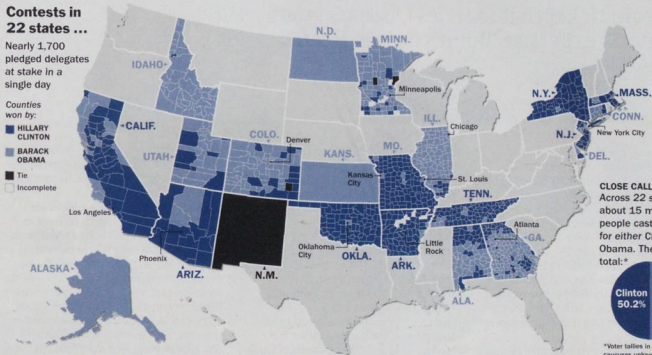
Countries won by:

■ HILLARY CLINTON

■ BARACK OBAMA

■ Tie

■ Incomplete



CLOSE CALL
Across 22 states, about 15 million people cast votes for either Clinton or Obama. The grand total:

Clinton 50.2%
Obama 49.8%

*Voter tallies in some closed caucuses unknown

... but no clear winner yet

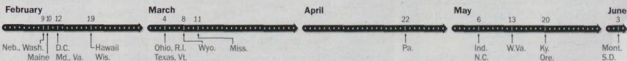
The Democrats' process for awarding delegates is mind-numbingly complex. Some delegates are pledged to support a candidate; others are free to choose. Some delegates are split among candidates in a state; others are awarded by district. Here are the latest estimates. It's still anyone's race.

Clinton
834

Obama
838

2,025
wins nomination

The next contests:



STATE	DELEGATES AT STAKE	HILLARY CLINTON	BARACK OBAMA
	Total (Pledged)		
Alabama	60 (52)	42%	56% ✓
Alaska	18 (13)	25%	74% ✓
Arizona	67 (56)	51% ✓	42%
Arkansas	47 (35)	70% ✓	27%
California	441 (370)	52% ✓	42%
Colorado	71 (55)	32%	67% ✓
Connecticut	60 (48)	47%	51% ✓
Delaware	23 (15)	42%	53% ✓
Georgia	103 (87)	31%	66% ✓
Idaho	23 (18)	17%	80% ✓
Illinois	185 (153)	33%	65% ✓
Kansas	41 (32)	26%	74% ✓
Massachusetts	121 (93)	56% ✓	41%
Minnesota	88 (72)	32%	67% ✓
Missouri	88 (72)	48%	49% ✓
New Jersey	127 (107)	54% ✓	44%
New Mexico	38 (26)	48%	48%
New York	281 (232)	57% ✓	40%
North Dakota	21 (13)	37%	61% ✓
Oklahoma	47 (38)	55% ✓	31%
Tennessee	85 (68)	54% ✓	41%
Utah	29 (23)	39%	57% ✓

California Clinton won big among Latinos, who made up nearly 30% of the primary voters

Georgia Obama's total among white voters was far higher than his 24% in South Carolina in January

New Mexico With 98% of the vote counted one day after Super Tuesday, Clinton leads Obama by just 210 votes

Why Not Both?

Some Democratic faithful are floating visions of a dream ticket that marries Obama's energy with Clinton's expertise. But it's only a dream

BY MICHAEL DUFFY

HERE'S A QUICK RUNDOWN OF THE many advantages the Democrats enjoy at this stage of the 2008 campaign. Voter turnout in most states is running well ahead of that for the GOP. Democratic fund-raising continues to break all records—even those set previously by Republicans. The Democrats' issues cupboard is fuller than it has been in a decade and a half. And voters have narrowed the field to two wildly popular candidates, either of whom would make history if nominated, much less elected.

Given the embarrassment of riches, it was only a matter of time before Democratic voters looked at the choice between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton and asked the question, Why not both?

That idea had been on some voters' minds even before the dream was made flesh two weeks ago in Los Angeles, where, at the end of the Kodak Theatre debate, Obama and Clinton smiled, embraced each other for more than the usual nanosecond and then seemed to whisper something knowing in each other's ear. After weeks of hand-to-hand combat and rumors of tiffs that may or may not have been real, the Hug rightly or wrongly got even more people thinking about the power of two. Even if their act was dutiful, evanescent and faked for the cameras, party regulars seemed to eat it up. It was all there: the visionary and the technician, the candidate who could inspire the masses and the candidate who could get under the sink and fix the plumbing.

For Clinton, pairing with Obama would repair some of the damage with African Americans brought on by her campaign and, at least in theory, push her husband to the sidelines. Obama, in turn, would get a mechanic to match his magic, someone who could turn his poetry into governing prose.

A new TIME poll reveals that 62% of

Democrats want Clinton to put Obama on the ticket; 51% want Obama to return the favor if he is the nominee. The party's right brain and left brain, dancing together at last, right?

Unlikely Partners—for Now

WELL, NOT EXACTLY. IT'S FAR TOO early to know if Obama and Clinton could work together, though there are plenty of reasons to be skeptical. While the Clinton camp saw an opportunity in the general longing of the audience—Clinton fund raiser Terry McAuliffe said on the morning of Super Tuesday that Obama has generated so much excitement, he would have to be considered for the party's vice-presidential nomination—the Obama people saw a trap. If Obama and his aides lent any credence now to the dangled notion of a partnership, they know that some of his voters might peel off, thinking a vote for Clinton was, in effect,

a twofer. And that could drive down Obama's turnout. "We're not running for Vice President," said Obama spokesman Robert Gibbs.

No, and as long as Obama has a real shot at the top spot, there's no need to entertain the Veep talk. As a top Obama aide said, "That's not where this campaign's head is at." Instead, the Obama camp had been expecting the Veep proffer for weeks, just as it had expected the Clinton campaign to play the race card after New Hampshire. Obama headquarters was fully aware that the Clintons had badly overplayed their hand in the days leading up to South Carolina—so badly that Bill or Hillary would have to make some peace offering to Obama's supporters, if not to Obama himself, to heal the breach. But forgiveness, while long a staple of the Clinton narrative, isn't something the Obama team is ready to embrace. An Obama adviser put it this way: "One could argue that the Senator should not even agree to discuss an offer of the vice presidency until Senator Clinton agrees to bar her husband from the West Wing for the duration of the first term. And then once she agrees to that, he should turn it down."

More to the point, is the job of Vice President to a Clinton worth having? Al Gore learned that being No. 2 to Bill was really more like being No. 3 after you factored in Hillary, who had an office in the West Wing and a larger suite of rooms down the hall from the Veep in the Old Executive Office Building. Gore watched his priorities often take a backseat to hers in the first term—and his future run around as they fought successfully to avoid impeachment and conviction. While she joked with David Letterman on his show that there is no doubt "who wears the pantsuits" in her house, there is little doubt that the Clintons intend to work as a team if Hillary is elected. "I'll be there, talking her through everything," Bill said

Poll: Who Helps More?

Would you want Hillary Clinton to choose Barack Obama as her running mate?



Would it help or hurt her chances if she did?



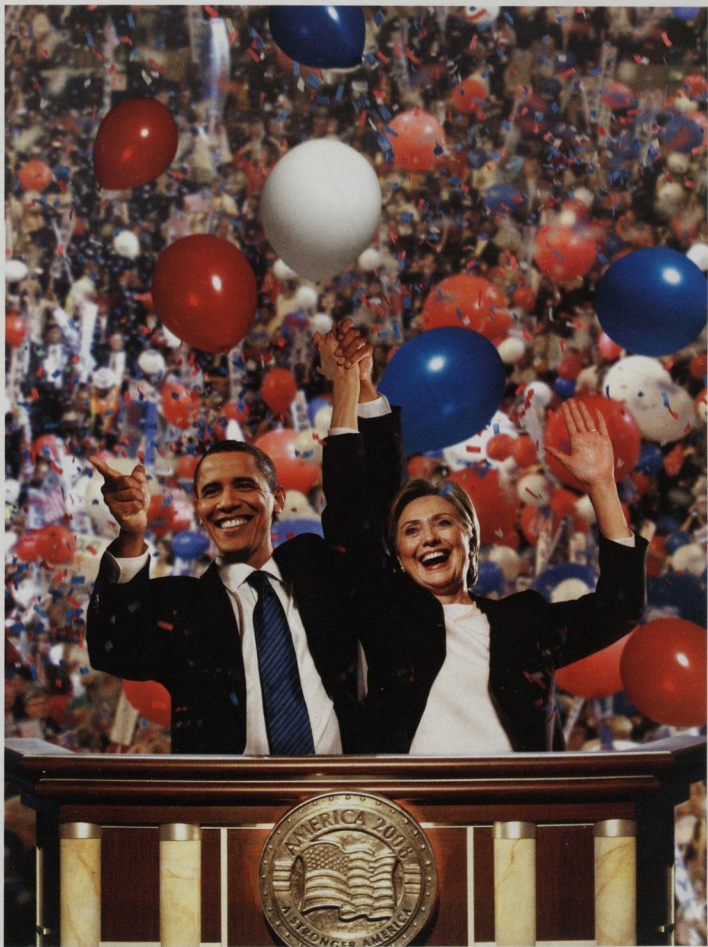
Would you want Barack Obama to choose Hillary Clinton as his running mate?



Would it help or hurt his chances if he did?



This TIME poll was conducted Feb. 1-4 among 3,002 randomly selected registered voters by SSRS Public Affairs. The questions in this chart were asked of 439 registered Democrats, with a margin of error of ±4 percentage points.



in Napa Valley, Calif., last month, "like she did with me." One unaligned party wise man said, "Obama may look at the Clintons, at both of them—at that whole thing they have—and say, 'Jeez, that's just way too [mess]ed up to be a part of. That's just no place I want to be.'"

If Obama becomes the nominee, the arguments against teaming with the Clintons might be even stronger. Obama's defining issue in the race is not health care or the economy or even the war, where he is most distinct from his rival. It's about being new and different and not from the past; in short, about not being a Clinton. For months he has attacked Clinton for taking money from lobbyists, for flimflamming voters on her war votes and for playing race and gender cards when she fell behind. To reverse all that and join forces with the Clintons would be seen as a huge betrayal of his most galvanizing argument—as well as his character—by many of his followers. The numbers back this up. In *TIME*'s poll, 58% of Clinton backers favor bringing Obama onto the ticket; nearly the same percentage (56%) of Obama supporters favor choosing someone else.

The Shadow of History

IT WOULD BE WRONG TO SUGGEST THAT the pro-Obama sentiment is universal inside the Clinton camp. It isn't difficult to find those allied with Clinton who believe that Obama would make an underwhelming vice-presidential nominee. Clinton, they say, will want an attack dog both on the trail and as Vice President—a role Obama is ill suited for and uncomfortable assuming. Plus, the states he could deliver she could win on her own.

But what really worries Clinton loyalists is that Obama lacks their, well, loyalty. Running her campaign are a host of aides who have worked for the Clintons before, been fired or been kicked aside and yet keep coming back, decade after decade, to help. That's how the Clintons define loyalty. That pattern may explain why there are those in Clintonland who think Obama has *wronged her* over the course of the campaign simply because he took her on.

It's too early to know if Obama and Clinton could work together. There are reasons to be skeptical



Triangulating the ticket Obama, top, campaigning in Boston, would bring charisma to a dual slate; Hillary Clinton, casting her ballot in New York as husband Bill watches, would bring expertise

Against all the mutual animus and anger, however, stands a lot of history. And history suggests a deal later is possible, if not likely, whatever the insiders may think now. More often than not, winners in both parties reach out to losers—or at least contemplate an overture—when the time comes to put a broken party back together. John Kennedy tapped Lyndon Johnson in 1960, though the two men were like oil and water. Ronald Reagan named George H.W. Bush in 1980, though they never became very close. Walter Mondale gave a man he resented, Gary Hart, a good look in 1984, before choosing Geraldine Ferraro. And John Kerry recruited his former rival John Edwards in 2004, though the hard feelings on both sides

never went away. Whoever wins these primaries may have no choice but to offer it to the also-ran.

So perhaps it is wisest now to think of the Democratic primary campaign not as one race but two: the one for the delegates and the other for reconciliation. We will probably know who wins the delegate race before school is out. But it might be late summer before the parleys and the peacemaking that lead to a partnership get under way. A lot can happen in six months. The party's fortunes could dim; the hard feelings could soften. And by August, who knows? There is no telling what a Democratic nominee will need in a running mate—and vice versa. —WITH REPORTING BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL/WASHINGTON

7:55 pm

8:05 pm

8:12 pm

8:22 pm



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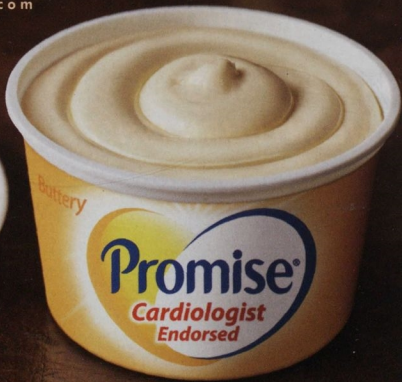
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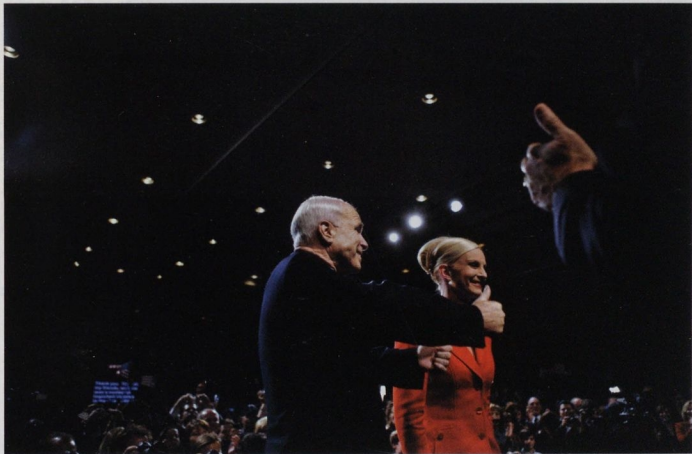


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Man to beat McCain and his wife Cindy in Phoenix celebrating his impressive—but inconclusive—victories

A Right Fight

McCain has strengthened his claim to the GOP nomination. But growing attacks from conservatives may hurt him in November

BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD

IT'S BEEN A STRANGE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY season.

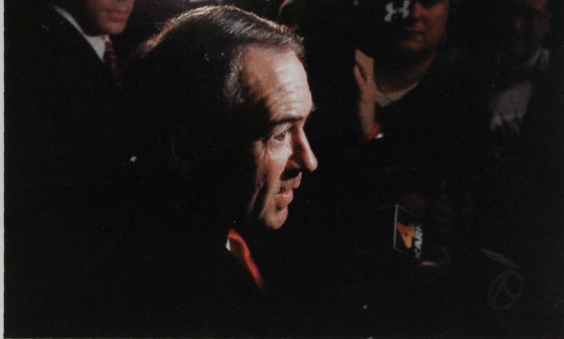
John McCain was the early front runner, but conservatives didn't like his positions on immigration and global warming. So Rudy Giuliani became the favorite, but conservatives didn't like his positions on guns and abortion. They liked all Mitt Romney's positions, until they learned that he used to have totally different positions. They got excited about Fred Thompson's candidacy, until they realized that he wasn't. And then Mike Huckabee had his moment in Iowa. But now Super Tuesday has confirmed McCain as the front runner again—didn't the pundits tell you Republicans always pick early front runners?—even though conservative icons like Rush Limbaugh,

Ann Coulter, Sean Hannity and James Dobson are still trashing him as a closet liberal.

The dominant narrative for the rest of the Republican race could be McCain's uneasy relationship with the right. Though the Arizona Senator has solidified his claim to the GOP nomination, he

The dominant narrative for the rest of the race could be McCain's uneasy relationship with the right

still finds himself in a struggle to win over the party's skeptical conservatives without turning off the swing voters he'll need to win the White House. He was the big winner of Super Tuesday delegates, but he captured only nine states, including six blue ones, while Romney and Huckabee combined to win 12 states, including 10 red ones. McCain has owned independents and moderates, but Huckabee thumped him in the Bible Belt, and McCain even trailed Romney among self-described conservatives in his home state of Arizona. He's lucky that Romney and Huckabee have both tried to run as the true conservative, splitting the base. "The conservatives do have a choice, because the conservatives have a voice!" Huckabee declared after sweeping the Deep South.



Southern strategy

Huckabee defied the polls to win support from religious conservatives and remain alive

The thing is, McCain is also trying to run as a true conservative. He opposed President George W. Bush's tax cuts, but now he vows to make them permanent. He fought to give illegal immigrants a path to citizenship, but now he says his top priority is securing the border. That's been the strangest thing about the GOP race: For all the conservatives' complaints about the candidates, they've taken conservative positions on most issues. Conservatism can be in the eye of the beholder, but with the notable exceptions of Ron Paul's opposition to the Iraq war and some of Huckabee's populist economic rhetoric, the candidates haven't said much on the campaign trail to cross social conservatives, military conservatives, tax-cut conservatives or fiscal conservatives. "I promise you," McCain assured conservatives in his victory speech, "if I am so fortunate to win your nomination, I will work hard to ensure that the conservative philosophy and principles of our great party ... will again win the votes of a majority of the American people."

After years of cultivating his reputation as a maverick, McCain still sounds like an outsider when he woos the party's base—"your nomination" was a telling choice of words—but that's probably not as important as the fact of his wooing. The remarkable turnout of the Republican base in 2004 carried President Bush to re-election, a lesson that clearly resonates with the Republican candidates of 2008. Bush's approval ratings are now awful, but none of the candidates have tried too hard to distance themselves from him, except to portray themselves as hard-liners on immigration and spending. That

could cause real problems in the general election. And while McCain polls much better among swing voters than Huckabee or Romney does, he would have to do more to energize the base if he were the nominee, which could alienate more of the centrist voters who are already fed up with Bush and the Republican Party.

With a comfortable lead in the delegate count, McCain is now less concerned with the other candidates than the talk-radio hosts, evangelical preachers, war bloggers, party activists and corporate financiers who are needed to fire up Republican voters. They're still divided and disgruntled. Limbaugh has warned that nominating McCain or Huckabee would destroy the party, and while Romney has emphasized his appeal to neons, theos and econos—*the Reaganite three-legged stool*—YouTube has made him look like a flip-flopping pseudocon. The conservative direct-mail activist Richard Viguerie has called for a new candidate to unify the right. "Grass-roots conservatives are justifiably wary of the present contenders," he wrote.

Conservative voters don't always fit neatly into boxes. Some vote with their gut—and McCain's tough-guy persona may trump his voting record

That hints at a damaging internecine fight ahead, one that could doom the party's hopes of holding on to the White House. But Democrats can't count on a conservative crackup. It may be tempting to view the Republican race as a battle for the party's conservative identity, pitting antiabortion vs. antiterrorism vs. anti-tax, Huckabee the evangelical pastor vs. McCain the war hero vs. Romney the venture capitalist. But Super Tuesday's exit polls suggest that McCain did best among Republicans who care most about the economy, while Romney scored best on immigration. Many conservative leaders will never trust McCain, partly because he's taken them on with such glee on issues like campaign finance, and partly because he's a liberal media darling. But conservative voters don't always fit neatly into Main Street or Wall Street, theoon or neocon boxes. Some vote with their gut—emoticons?—and McCain's warrior biography and tough-guy persona may trump his voting record.

The larger point is that there's little evidence the McCain surge represents a Republican rejection of Bush or any of the various strands of conservatism. Primary season is always a branding process, a way for political parties to hash out their identities, and throughout this campaign Republicans have embraced conservatism as consistently as Democrats have embraced change. And even many disgruntled conservatives believe there's one presidential candidate who can still motivate their disappointed base. She's not a Republican. —WITH REPORTING BY JAMES CARNEY/PHOENIX AND MICHAEL SCHERER/BOSTON ■

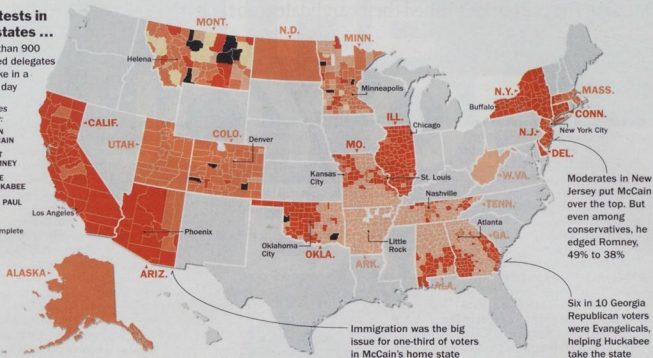
The Republicans. McCain opens his lead; Romney and Huckabee shine on friendly ground

Contests in 21 states ...

More than 900 pledged delegates at stake in a single day

Counties won by:

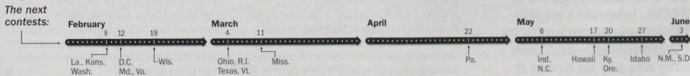
- JOHN MCCAIN
- MITT ROMNEY
- MIKE HUCKABEE
- RON PAUL
- Tie
- Incomplete



... put McCain out front

Republicans divide their delegates, with some pledged to a candidate and others free to choose. Many Republican contests are winner-take-all. Here are the latest delegate estimates:

McCain
720
Romney
256
Huckabee
194
1,191
wins
nomination



STATE	DELEGATES AT STAKE Total (Pledged)	JOHN MCCAIN	MITT ROMNEY	MIKE HUCKABEE
Alabama	48 (45)	37%	18%	41% ✓
Alaska	29 (13)	16%	44% ✓	22%
Arizona	53 (53)	47% ✓	34%	9%
Arkansas	34 (31)	20%	14%	60% ✓
California	173 (170)	42% ✓	34%	12%
Colorado	46 (none)	19%	59% ✓	13%
Connecticut	30 (27)	52% ✓	33%	7%
Delaware	18 (18)	45% ✓	33%	15%
Georgia	72 (72)	32%	30%	34% ✓
Illinois	70 (57)	47% ✓	29%	17%
Massachusetts	43 (40)	41%	51% ✓	4%
Minnesota	41 (none)	21%	41% ✓	19%
Missouri	58 (58)	33% ✓	29%	32%
Montana	25 (25)	22%	38% ✓	15%
New Jersey	52 (52)	55% ✓	28%	8%
New York	101 (87)	51% ✓	28%	11%
North Dakota	26 (26)	23%	36% ✓	20%
Oklaahoma	41 (38)	37% ✓	25%	33%
Tennessee	55 (52)	32%	24%	35% ✓
Utah	36 (36)	5%	90% ✓	1%
West Virginia	30 (27)	1%	47%	52% ✓

The Price of Overconfidence

Democrats are giddy about their prospects in November. But have the primaries pushed their candidates too far left?

LIBERALS ARE MORE CONFIDENT ABOUT their future than at any other point since 1968. They think the long period of conservative dominance of American politics is over. Read their magazines, and you'll find articles on how to make the most of the dawning liberal moment—or on how Republicans should be treated after they lose power. (They are to be shunned and occasionally pilloried.)

Some liberals criticize Hillary Clinton because, having spent the bulk of her career in the conservative era, she is too cautious. She lives in terror of a latent conservatism that no longer exists in the land. The country has moved left, they say, and Barack Obama is the candidate of audacious liberal hope.

The case for liberal good cheer starts with the 2006 elections, which went better for congressional Democrats than any other election in decades. It continues with public-opinion data showing renewed confidence in government activism, and demographic trends that favor Democrats. Most Hispanic voters prefer the Democrats, and their numbers are growing. Young voters, too, have been voting for the Democrats.

The presidential race also shows that the liberal optimists are onto something. Both parties are moving left. Both of the Democratic candidates are more hostile to trade than the last Democratic President. The likely Republican nominee, John McCain, has a bill to fight global warming.

So change may be in the air. But it wasn't a large ideological shift by the pub-

lic that produced the Democratic gains of 2006. It was the public's revulsion at a Republican Party that seemed unable to see that we were losing in Iraq, let alone do anything about it, and that was sunk in scandal. Liberals can still blow their opportunity by overreaching—and they may already be doing it.

Clinton and Obama have the most

least reduce the Democrats' traditional advantage on health care.

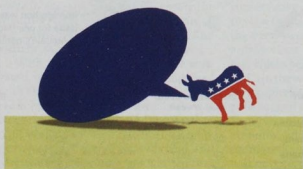
Abortion may present other problems. Clinton has put a lot of work into moderating her image on abortion, saying that abortions are a "tragedy" and that she wants to see fewer of them.

While trying to appeal to liberal primary voters, though, she tried to get to Obama's left. As a state senator, Obama had voted "present" on a bill that gave legal protections to neonates who survive abortions. She said he should have voted no. He said his vote was part of a strategy worked out by the bill's opponents. Opposition to this type of pro-life legislation is, however, well to the left of public opinion. After all, similar federal legislation passed the Senate unanimously. Clinton had the political sense to vote

yes. But back then she was positioning herself for a general election, not a tough primary campaign.

The primaries are pushing the Democrats too far to the left on some issues. And that's not the only way they're hurting the Democrats' chances. Neither Clinton nor Obama is entirely to blame for the racial overtones of the primary campaign, but they make the problem of patching the party together harder.

The point is not that liberals are doomed. It is that political trends can reverse, and quickly. In March 1991, the first President Bush had a 90% approval rating. The next year, he got only 37% of the vote. Republicans thought they had secured a permanent majority in 2004, only to see it collapse. Harry Reid, the leader of the Senate Democrats, didn't think his party would win a majority in 2006—and then it did. The liberal moment may turn out to be just a moment.



ambitious health-care proposals since the Clintons' plan died in 1994. Hillary Clinton's proposal, in particular, attempts to avoid some of the pitfalls of that earlier effort. Liberals hope the public's anxiety about health care, currently running high, will help them finally achieve universal coverage after six decades of trying.

But how strong is the public's demand for universal coverage? In the fall, Republicans will be able to say that their proposals would make coverage portable, give patients more control and increase the number of people with insurance—all without raising taxes, increasing spending or threatening what people value in their current arrangements. Voters might well conclude that it is a good deal, even if it does not cover everyone. Obama has attacked Clinton's plan for forcing people to buy insurance whether they want it or not. Most experts agree that universal coverage requires such heavy-handedness. Republicans can win this argument or at

It wasn't a large ideological shift by the public that produced the Democratic gains of 2006. Liberals can still blow their opportunity by overreaching—and they may already be doing it

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More Money

To read Justin Fox's daily take on business and the economy, go to time.com/curiouscapitalist

Do Presidents Matter?

It's not clear that the White House can change the economy, yet the economy can change the White House

FOR DECADES, SCHOLARS HAVE BEEN churning out studies on the impact the economy has on presidential elections. The not-very-surprising message of most of them: economic trouble is bad news for the party that occupies the White House.

The seemingly far more important question of what impact Presidents have on the economy has been studied less, with far less conclusive results. See, it's not just journalists who obsess over campaign horse races and neglect issues. It's economists and political scientists too.

The reason is that separating cause and effect on Presidents and the economy is *hard*. Yes, over the past half-century, Democratic administrations have seen faster economic growth—and better stock-market performance—than Republican ones. But the sample size is so small that you really can't rule out luck.

A perhaps more solid result, because it jibes with the parties' priorities, is Princeton political scientist Larry Bartels' finding that income inequality increases more under Republicans than under Democrats. But a case can also be made that it doesn't matter who's in charge. A study of political leadership and economic growth around the world by economists Ben Jones of Northwestern University and Ben Olken of Harvard found that changes at the top made a big difference—but only in dictatorships.

Still, even in this democratic nation of ours, Presidents have a big imprint on economic policies, if not necessarily outcomes. If Al Gore—or even John McCain—had been the one who moved

'The importance of the President vis-à-vis the economy hasn't been this consequential since the Great Depression.'

—JIM LEACH, DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE OF POLITICS, HARVARD'S KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

into the White House in 2001, big tax cuts would not have been at the top of the presidential agenda. But with George W. Bush, who never met an economic problem he didn't think could be solved by reducing tax rates, they were.

The Republican-Democratic split in 2008 won't be quite that dramatic if McCain wins his party's nomination, as now seems likely. But it will still offer significant contrasts. Democratic rivals Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama have



big plans for universal health care and want to allow parts of the Bush tax cuts of 2001 and 2003—mainly the parts that apply to the affluent—to expire, starting next year. And Clinton and Obama say they will push for tax breaks and other perks for the poor and middle class. McCain's pronouncements on taxes have meandered so much that one can't predict his actions with confidence, but he is more likely to extend the Bush tax regime and has less dramatic plans for health care. If you don't like the way things have been going with the economy, the Democrats clearly offer more in the way of change.

Between Clinton and Obama, the differences are of degree and style. Clinton has offered more specifics, particularly on health care. For Obama, wonky proposals obviously aren't the core of his appeal—although he has been more explicit than Clinton about raising taxes on the rich. Both voted against the Central American Free Trade Agreement in 2005, but neither is what you'd call an anti-free-trade activist. Clinton, it appears, would be likelier to enter the White House with big legislative proposals ready to roll. Obama might be better at forging the compromises needed to turn them into laws.

This isn't the stuff from which stark conclusions can be drawn, I know. In search of more clarity, I called Jim Leach, the former Republican Congressman from Iowa who has long had a reputation as one of Capitol Hill's deepest thinkers.

Do Presidents matter to the economy? I asked. "In normal times they modestly matter. In abnormal times—and this is abnormal—they matter a great deal," said Leach, currently director of the Institute of Politics at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. "The importance of the President vis-à-vis the economy hasn't been this consequential since the Great Depression."

Leach worries that the U.S.—and its financial system in particular—faces a global crisis of confidence that could end really badly if mishandled. So which candidate and which policies are best suited to address it? Leach, who hasn't endorsed a candidate (although his wife has been campaigning for Obama), told me the crucial trait for the next President will be the ability to inspire confidence. That was it. No laundry list. Just confidence.

Is it any wonder that we keep returning to the easy economic questions? Go ahead, ask me if a recession is bad news for McCain. I can answer that!

A detailed view of the front interior of an Infiniti EX. The image shows the driver's side with a light-colored leather-upholstered steering wheel featuring the Infiniti logo. The dashboard has a curved, sculpted design with a central infotainment screen and various control buttons. The center console has a gear shifter and handbrake. The seats are also upholstered in light-colored leather with visible stitching. The background is a warm, orange-toned gradient.

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The Microsoft-Yahoo! Deal: A User's Guide

Will the proposed \$44.6 billion buyout be a marriage of dunces or the birth of a Net overlord? Either way, a new, ad-centered era is booting up

BY LEV GROSSMAN

DON'T PANIC. ABOVE ALL, remain calm. Or if you are already calm—in fact, I see a few of you dozing in the back row there—then wake up! An enormous convulsion is taking place in the Internet economy. Microsoft, the world's largest software company, wants to buy Yahoo!, which is (in its own words) "the world's largest global online network of integrated services," whatever that means, for \$44.6 billion. Yahoo! is resisting. It's a complex, many-sided deal with repercussions in all directions. What does it mean for you? How will the world be different? Will your oxygen mask deploy in case of emergency? This guide will answer those questions and more. But the answers aren't simple, and they all depend on where you're sitting.



If You're a Google Employee

YOUR WORLD IS CHANGING, friendo. Separately, Microsoft and Yahoo! are the second and third most trafficked prop-

erties on the Web. Together, they will be the first. (Guess who will be the new No. 2? That would be you.) Separately, Microsoft and Yahoo! have two not-bad search engines, two so-so consumer brands and two all-right online-advertising systems. Together, they will still have all those things, plus the added nightmare of integrating them. Separately, Yahoo! and Microsoft are Goliaths. Together, they will be...an even bigger Goliath. O.K., maybe your world won't change that much.

This is a deal about brute scale, about huge numbers. For example, if you squish Hotmail (Microsoft's e-mail service) and Yahoo! Mail together, they have 426 million users worldwide; that's compared with Gmail's paltry 90 million. But don't let those huge numbers distract you from two very small ones. First, the number *x*: that's where Google stands in the search business and in the online-advertising business, the latter of which—unlike search or e-mail or instant messaging—actually has real dollars attached to it. Second, the number *o*. That's how many new ideas Microsoft will be acquiring by buying Yahoo! The two companies

run their Web businesses very similarly and not very well.

So relax. Ride your little electric scooters, and eat your free salmon carpaccio. You and your \$500 stock are fine, probably. The only scary thing is, Microsoft has a history of trying to turn big numbers into industry dominance even when it doesn't have lots of good ideas. It's done this in software through its near monopolies in operating systems and Web browsers. If Microsoft eats Yahoo!, it will also have dominance in Web-based e-mail, instant messaging and Web portals. That's got to be a temptation. Sure, Google is "the No. 1 search player," a source close to Google argues. "But users can click away and use another search engine. Microsoft has monopolies. Governments on both sides of the Atlantic have found that it abused those monopolies." Will Microsoft bully the Web the way it bullied the PC?

Maybe. But the Internet doesn't work the way the software business works. Yes, it runs on computers, but the Internet is part of the media now, where choice rules. Says Daniel Taylor, a senior analyst with the Yankee Group: "In the technology business,

they say you've always got to choose between us and them, between our technology and theirs. That's what Microsoft has done. Yahoo! is a really good property for them, but I don't think they are going to be able to pull it off."

So no worries after all.



If You're a Microsoft Employee

IT'S FUNNY, ISN'T IT? GOOGLE is calling you a dangerous, monopolistic monster who will crush openness and innovation on the Internet. You are saying the same thing about Google. Don't fight, fellas; you're both right! Google is massively dominant in the ad-serving market, and with Yahoo! under its belt, Microsoft would run both of the biggest Web portals around. There are no underdogs to root for. There's room for everybody to be a little evil here.

So if the merger goes through, Microsoft will have the size to compete with Google in the online-



The Future of Search

When Microsoft CEO Steve Ballmer, top, couldn't coax Yahoo! boss Jerry Yang into a deal, he went hostile. But smooching together MSN and Yahoo! would be difficult. What would their mutant love child look like?

1

SEARCH

In December 2007 Google owned 62% of all Web searches worldwide. Yahoo! and Microsoft had only 16%. Combined. As long as "MicroHoo" remained a fat, content-heavy portal, this wouldn't change. Google is lean and fast, a search brand designed to get people where they're going, not to herd them onto its own site. The only way to beat 'em is to buy 'em, and even Microsoft isn't that rich.

2

MAIL

Yahoo! Mail and Microsoft's Hotmail are by far the biggest and second biggest Web-based e-mail services around. And for good reason: mail is something both companies do very well. Whatever a merged service is called, it would be a truly colossal venue for serving ads. Look for Microsoft to start tailoring ads to e-mail content, the way Gmail does. It's a little creepy, but advertisers love it.

3

NEWS & INFORMATION

If there's one thing this proposal isn't about, it's the innumerable news stories, stock quotes, TV listings, sports scores, viral videos, poker applets and personal ads that both MSN and Yahoo! serve up to their visitors by the bushel. It's highly visible, but all that ancillary content just isn't that difficult to reproduce, so to Microsoft, it's not a significant asset.

4

PHOTOS

In 2005, in a rare moment of prescience, Yahoo! snapped up the online photo-sharing site Flickr, one of the coolest jewels in the Web 2.0 crown. It's a brilliantly designed site that has attracted a vibrant, creative community, and if Microsoft is smart, it would leave Flickr alone and not change a pixel. Big if.

5

ADS, ADS, ADS

What do those four other things have in common? You don't have to pay for them. The return on investment in this deal is in selling ads against traffic, and the combined "MicroHoo" would be the most trafficked Web empire around. With Windows showing its age—it'll be 23 this November—Microsoft is trying to buy a profit engine with greater growth potential. You're looking at it.

advertising game, a fast-growing sector with a ton of potential. Size means greater efficiency and more inventory to offer advertisers. "The No. 1 thing we're trying to do is increase scale and increase capacity to give ourselves a better chance to be more successful more quickly," Microsoft CEO Steve Ballmer told analysts on Monday. "It's not primarily about scaling down. It's about scaling up."

Bigger had better be better, given the \$44.6 billion price tag on Yahoo! That's massive in terms of both its stock price and the amount of money Yahoo! is expected to generate. The worse news is, you're not very good at the online-advertising game and you aren't buying anybody who is. Google figured out how to make more money per ad sale, on its own site and others, than either Microsoft or Yahoo! Online advertising is about size and smarts, and you've got only one. Google has both.

And there will be a lot of new faces in the cafeteria now, about 14,000 of them, and you've promised \$1 billion in cost savings. Something's got to give, which brings us to...



If You're a Yahoo! Employee

ISN'T IT ROMANTIC? YOUR prince has come to save you! He's a bit balder than you had hoped, but it's time to lower your expectations. Your executives are bolting, and you just poked up a hair ball of an earnings report.

Sure, Yahoo! is practically a historic landmark, the last of the pure dotcom plays from the wild 1990s. But brace for impact: Microsoft hasn't even promised to keep the Yahoo! brand alive. ("That's a question we haven't answered yet,"



Archivals Google founders Larry Page, left, and Sergey Brin, right, with CEO Eric Schmidt, center, would love to scuttle Microsoft's acquisition

purrs Yusuf Mehdi, Microsoft's senior vice president of strategic partnerships. Really?)

But don't put your résumé up on Yahoo! HotJobs just yet. There's a war for talent in Silicon Valley, and Microsoft is bleeding troops to Google (which is bleeding troops to Facebook). Microsoft needs you. Just keep muttering something about cloud computing. That's hot right now.



If You Advertise on The Internet

THEN YOU WIN! AT LEAST THE way Microsoft spins it, which is that a combined, more muscular Microsoft and Yahoo! makes a more credible challenge to Google, which helps advertisers, even though there would be two space sellers instead of three. Rob Norman, CEO of WPP's GroupM Interaction, the world's largest media buyer, is cautiously optimistic. "It's a qualified good," he says, "because in an auction atmosphere, you're competing against other advertisers more than the auctioneer itself. The deal won't give you leverage against Google, but it could give you choice, and more choice is always positive."

But you're already a winner, since you're a buyer in a market where supply greatly outstrips demand. Seriously, if Microsoft's \$44.6 billion bid for Yahoo! means one thing, it's that advertising—not subscriptions or surveys or micropayments—is the engine that Internet content will run on. This is a victory party for online advertising's long boom. According to a Yankee Group report, online advertising rang up \$16.9 billion in revenue in 2006 and could grow 24% a year or more. It's still a pretty meager slice of total ad spending—only 7.5% last year, according to the report. But expect that to change. "An industry that was pretty much left for dead five years ago is right back beyond where it was in the peak of what we now call the bubble days," says Andrew Frank, media-research vice president at Gartner. "People in the moment tend to lose the perspective on that."



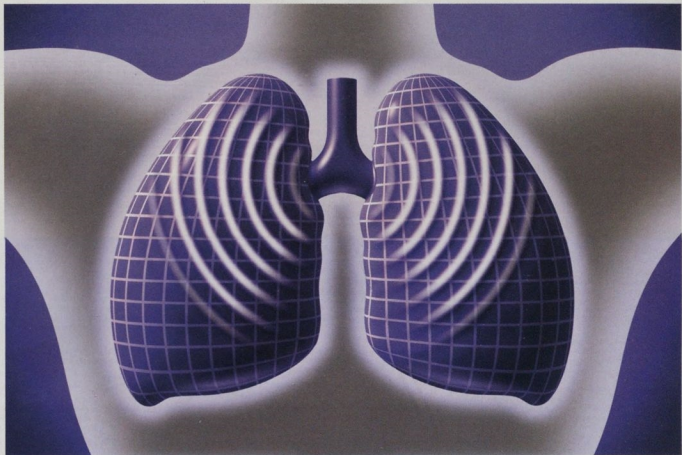
If You're the Average Web User

YOU ALWAYS GET FORGOTTEN in all the excitement, don't you? Well, you probably won't

see any noticeable changes for a while. Eventually—this could take years—MSN and Yahoo! will merge, Live Search and Yahoo! Search will merge, Hotmail and Yahoo! Mail will merge, and so will the two instant-messaging services. You'll see some minor technical glitches along the way.

That's the obvious stuff. Now for the subtle stuff. As Google and Microsoft get more competitive over ads, you'll see new kinds of ads, and in new places, like on your cell phone. Your traffic will become more valuable, and you'll see, if you look carefully, underhanded ploys to secure it. Microsoft has pinned a lot of its hopes for future growth on this business. The risk with a huge, diversified entity like the merged Microsoft-Yahoo! is that it would get up to dirty tricks like diverting Web surfers to its own pages rather than to the most relevant search results. That would subvert the Web's promise and your power to choose. Don't let them do it.

You have the power. If advertising is the engine that Internet content runs on, your attention is what fuels that engine. As big as this deal is, it's really just you that everybody's fighting over. —WITH REPORTING BY KATHLEEN KINGSBURY AND KATE STINCHFIELD ■



ADVAIR® helps significantly improve lung function so you can breathe better.*

If you have COPD associated with chronic bronchitis, ADVAIR 250/50 may help. ADVAIR works differently than other COPD medications. It is the only product with an anti-inflammatory and a bronchodilator working together to help improve lung function. Talk to your doctor and find out if ADVAIR is right for you.



Get your first full prescription FREE.[†] Go to advairCOPD.com or call 1-800-768-0200.

It is not known how anti-inflammatories work in COPD.

Important Information: ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 is approved for controlling symptoms and preventing wheezing in adults with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of using ADVAIR DISKUS for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. You should only take 1 inhalation of ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50 twice a day. Taking higher doses will not provide additional benefits but may increase your chance of certain side effects. Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with ADVAIR. Patients at risk for developing bone loss (osteoporosis) and some eye problems (cataracts or glaucoma) should be aware that use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAIR DISKUS, may increase your risk. You should consider having regular eye exams. ADVAIR DISKUS does not replace fast-acting inhalers for acute symptoms.

*Measured by a breathing test in people taking ADVAIR 250/50, compared with people taking either fluticasone propionate 250 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg. Maximum effects may take several weeks. Your results may vary.

[†] See advairCOPD.com for eligibility rules.

Please see accompanying important information about ADVAIR DISKUS 250/50.

If you don't have prescription coverage and can't afford your medicines, visit ppax.org, or call 1-888-4PPA-NOW (1-888-477-2669)



ADVAIR DISKUS® 250/50
(fluticasone propionate 250 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

If you smoke and want to quit, you can learn more at way2quit.com.

ADVAIR DISKUS[®] 100/50, 250/50, 500/50

(fluticasone propionate 100, 250, 500 mcg and salmeterol 50 mcg inhalation powder)

What is the most important information I should know about ADVAIR DISKUS?

In patients with asthma, long-acting beta₂-agonist medicines such as salmeterol (one of the medications in ADVAIR[®]) may increase the chance of death from asthma problems. In a large asthma study, more patients who used salmeterol died from asthma problems compared with patients who did not use salmeterol. So ADVAIR is not for patients whose asthma is controlled on another asthma controller medicine such as low- to medium-dose inhaled corticosteroids or only need a fast-acting inhaler once in a while. Talk with your doctor about this risk and the benefits of treating your asthma with ADVAIR.

ADVAIR should not be used to treat a severe attack of asthma or chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) requiring emergency medical treatment.

ADVAIR should not be used to relieve sudden symptoms or sudden breathing problems. Always have a fast-acting inhaler with you to treat sudden breathing difficulty. If you do not have a fast-acting inhaler, contact your doctor to have one prescribed for you.

What is ADVAIR DISKUS?

There are two medicines in ADVAIR: fluticasone propionate, an inhaled anti-inflammatory belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as corticosteroids; and salmeterol, a long-acting, inhaled bronchodilator belonging to a group of medicines commonly referred to as beta₂-agonists. There are 3 strengths of ADVAIR: 100/50, 250/50, 500/50.

For Asthma

ADVAIR is approved for the maintenance treatment of asthma in patients 4 years of age and older. ADVAIR should only be used if your doctor decides that another asthma controller medicine alone does not control your asthma or that you need 2 asthma controller medications.

The strength of ADVAIR approved for patients ages 4 to 11 years who experience symptoms on an inhaled corticosteroid is ADVAIR DISKUS 100/50. All 3 strengths are approved for patients with asthma ages 12 years and older.

For COPD associated with chronic bronchitis

ADVAIR 250/50 is the only approved dose for the maintenance treatment of airflow obstruction in patients with COPD associated with chronic bronchitis. The benefit of using ADVAIR for longer than 6 months has not been evaluated. The way anti-inflammatories work in the treatment of COPD is not well defined.

Who should not take ADVAIR DISKUS?

You should not start ADVAIR if your asthma is becoming significantly or rapidly worse, which can be life threatening. Serious respiratory events, including death, have been reported in patients who started taking salmeterol in this situation, although it is not possible to tell whether salmeterol contributed to these events. This may also occur in patients with less severe asthma.

You should not take ADVAIR if you have had an allergic reaction to 1 or any of its components (salmeterol, fluticasone propionate, or lactose). Tell your doctor if you are allergic to ADVAIR, any other medications, or food products. If you experience an allergic reaction after taking ADVAIR, stop using ADVAIR immediately and contact your doctor. Allergic reactions can be severe and may include any or more of the following: choking, breathing problems; swelling of the face, mouth and/or tongue; rash; hives; itching; or welts on the skin.

Tell your doctor about the following:

- If you are using your fast-acting inhaler more often or using more doses than you normally do (e.g., 4 or more inhalations of your fast-acting inhaler for 2 or more days in a row or a whole canister of your fast-acting inhaler in 8 weeks' time), it could be a sign that your asthma is getting worse. If this occurs, tell your doctor immediately.
- If you have been using your fast-acting inhaler regularly (e.g., four times a day). Your doctor may tell you to stop the regular use of these medications.
- If you are having trouble getting results. Your doctor will tell you the numbers that are right for you.
- If you have asthma and your symptoms do not improve after using ADVAIR regularly for 1 week.
- If you have been on an oral steroid, like prednisone, and are now using ADVAIR. You should be very careful as you may be less able to heal after surgery, infection, or serious injury. It takes a number of months for the body to recover its ability to make its own steroid hormones after use of oral steroids. Switching from an oral steroid may also unmask a condition previously suppressed by the oral steroid such as allergies, conjunctivitis, eczema, arthritis, and esophageal conditions. Symptoms of an esophageal condition can include rash, worsening breathing problems, heart complications, and/or feeling of "pins and needles" or numbness in the arms and legs. Talk to your doctor immediately if you experience any of these symptoms.
- Sometimes patients experience unexpected bronchospasm right after taking ADVAIR. This condition can be life threatening and if it occurs, you should immediately stop using ADVAIR and seek immediate medical attention.
- If you have any type of heart disease such as coronary artery disease, irregular heart beat or high blood pressure. ADVAIR should be used with caution. Be sure to talk with your doctor about your condition because salmeterol, one of the components of ADVAIR, may affect the heart by increasing heart rate and blood pressure. It may cause symptoms such as heart fluttering, chest pain, rapid heart rate, tremor, or nervousness.
- If you have seizures, overactive thyroid gland, liver problems, or are sensitive to certain medications for breathing.
- If your breathing problems get worse over time or if your fast-acting inhaler does not work as well for you while using ADVAIR. If your breathing problems worsen quickly, get emergency medical care.
- If you have been exposed to or currently have chickenpox or measles or if you have an immune system problem. Patients using medications that weaken the immune system are more likely to get infections than healthy individuals. ADVAIR contains a corticosteroid (fluticasone propionate) which may weaken the immune system. Infections like chickenpox and measles, for example, can be very serious or even fatal in susceptible patients using corticosteroids.

How should I take ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR should be used 1 inhalation, twice a day (morning and evening). ADVAIR should never be taken more than 1 inhalation twice a day. The full benefit of taking ADVAIR will take 1 week or longer.

If you miss a dose of ADVAIR, just skip that dose. Take your next dose at your usual time. Do not take two doses at one time.

Do not stop using ADVAIR unless told to do so by your doctor because your symptoms might get worse.

Do not change or stop any of your medicines used to control or treat your breathing problems. Your doctor will adjust your medicines as needed.

When using ADVAIR, remember:

- Never breathe into or take the DISKUS[®] apart.
- Always use the DISKUS in a level position.
- After each inhalation, rinse your mouth with water without swallowing.
- Never wash any part of the DISKUS. Always keep it in a dry place.
- Never take an extra dose, even if you feel you did not receive a dose.
- Discard 1 month after removal from the foil pouch.
- Do not use ADVAIR with a spacer device.

Children should use ADVAIR with an adult's help as instructed by the child's doctor.

Can I take ADVAIR DISKUS with other medications?

Tell your doctor about all the medications you take, including prescription and nonprescription medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

If you are taking ADVAIR DISKUS, do not use other long-acting beta₂-agonist-containing medications, such as SEREVENT[®] or Foradil[®] Aerolizer[®], for any reason.

If you take ritonavir (an HIV medication), tell your doctor. Ritonavir may interact with ADVAIR and could cause serious side effects. The anti-HIV medicines Norvir[®] Soft Gelatin Capsules, Novirus Oral Solution, and Kaletra[®] contain ritonavir.

No formal drug interaction studies have been performed with ADVAIR.

In clinical studies, there were no differences in effects on the heart when ADVAIR was taken with varying amounts of albuterol. The effect of using ADVAIR in patients with asthma while taking more than 9 puffs of a dry powder inhaler has not been studied.

ADVAIR should be used with extreme caution during and up to 2 weeks after treatment with monoamine oxidase (MAO) inhibitors or tricyclic antidepressants since these medications can cause ADVAIR to have an even greater effect on the circulatory system.

ADVAIR should be used with caution in people who are taking ketocazole (an antifungal medication) or other drugs broken down by the body in a similar way. These medications can cause ADVAIR to have greater steroid side effects.

Generally, people with asthma should not take beta-blockers because they counteract the effects of beta₂-agonists and may also cause severe bronchospasm. However, in some cases, for instance, following a heart attack, selective beta-blockers may still be used if there is no acceptable alternative.

The ECG changes and/or low blood potassium that may occur with some diuretics may be made worse by ADVAIR, especially at higher-than-recommended doses. Caution should be used when these drugs are used together.

In clinical studies, there was no difference in side effects when ADVAIR was taken with methylxanthines (e.g., theophylline) or with FLONASE[®] (fluticasone propionate).

What are other important safety considerations with ADVAIR DISKUS?

Osteoporosis: Long-term use of inhaled corticosteroids may result in bone loss (osteoporosis). Patients who are at risk for increased bone loss (obesity, use of advanced age, inactive lifestyle, poor nutrition, family history of osteoporosis, or long-term use of drugs such as corticosteroids) may have a greater risk with ADVAIR. If you have risk factors for bone loss, you should talk to your doctor about ways to reduce your risk and whether you should have your bone density evaluated.

Glaucoma and cataracts: Glaucoma, increased pressure in the eyes, and cataracts have been reported with the use of inhaled steroids, including fluticasone propionate, a medicine contained in ADVAIR. Regular eye examinations should be considered if you are taking ADVAIR.

Lower respiratory tract infection: Lower respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia, have been reported with the use of inhaled corticosteroids, including ADVAIR.

Blood sugar: Salmeterol may affect blood sugar and/or cause low blood potassium in some patients, which could lead to a side effect like an irregular heart rate. Significant changes in blood sugar and blood potassium were seen infrequently in clinical studies with ADVAIR.

Growth: Inhaled steroids can cause a reduction in growth velocity in children and adolescents.

Steroids: Taking steroids can affect your body's ability to make its own steroid hormones, which are needed during infections and times of severe stress to your body, such as an operation. These effects can sometimes be seen with inhaled steroids (but it is more common with oral steroids), especially when taken at higher-than-recommended doses over a long period of time. In some cases, these effects may be severe. Inhaled steroids often help control symptoms with less side effects than oral steroids.

Yeast infections: Patients taking ADVAIR may develop yeast infections of the mouth and/or throat ("thrush") that should be treated by your doctor.

Tuberculosis or other untreated infections: ADVAIR should be used with caution, if at all, in patients with tuberculosis, herpes infections of the eye, or other untreated infections.

What are the other possible side effects of ADVAIR DISKUS?

ADVAIR may produce side effects in some patients. In clinical studies, the most common side effects with ADVAIR included:

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| • Respiratory infections | • Bronchitis | • Musculoskeletal pain |
| • Throat irritation | • Cough | • Dizziness |
| • Hoarseness | • Headaches | • Fever |
| • Sinus infection | • Nausea and vomiting | • Ear, nose, and throat infections |
| • Yeast infection of the mouth | • Diarrhea | • Nosebleed |

Tell your doctor about any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away. These are not all the side effects with ADVAIR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

What if I am pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or nursing?

Talk to your doctor about the benefits and risks of using ADVAIR during pregnancy, labor, or if you are nursing. There have been no studies of ADVAIR used during pregnancy, labor, or in nursing women. Salmeterol is known to interfere with labor contractions. It is not known whether ADVAIR is excreted in breast milk, but other corticosteroids have been detected in human breast milk. Fluticasone propionate, like other breast milk, has been associated with birth defects (e.g., cleft palate and fetal death). Salmeterol showed no effect on fertility in rats at 180 times the maximum recommended daily dose.

What other important tests were conducted with ADVAIR?

There is no evidence of enhanced toxicity with ADVAIR compared with the components administered separately. In animal studies with doses much higher than those used in humans, salmeterol was associated with uterine tumors. Your healthcare professional can tell you more about how drugs are tested on animals and what the results of these tests may mean to your safety.

For more information on ADVAIR DISKUS

This page is only a brief summary of important information about ADVAIR DISKUS. For more information, talk to your doctor. You can also visit www.ADAIR.com or call 1-888-825-5249. Patients receiving ADVAIR DISKUS should read the medication guide provided by the pharmacist with the prescription.

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Hooping works the body's core and can help participants burn more than 400 calories an hour

ELISABETH SALEMME, HEALTH, PAGE 52

Life

□ LIVING □ HEALTH □ TRAVEL



LIVING

The Beard Brigade. From the red carpet in Hollywood to the paneled offices on Wall Street, facial hair is back in style

BY CAROLYN SAYRE

TWO MONTHS AGO, I WAS CONVINCED that my husband had lost his mind. Preparing to leave for his job as a Wall Street accountant one morning, he wore his usual crisp black suit, a BlackBerry in his pocket and a new accessory: an unkempt 8 o'clock shadow. "I am growing a beard," he explained. "They are *sooo* in right now."

He had a point. Everywhere you look these days—on late-night talk shows, on Super Bowl offensive lines, at Federal Reserve Board meetings and maybe even in the next cubicle or across the dinner table—beards that typically resemble two to three weeks of stubble are adorning male faces. In some particularly trendy areas, facial hair has become as essential an accessory for would-be chic men as oversized totes are for their female counterparts. "Beards are back," says Allan Peterkin, a pogonologist (a.k.a. beard scholar) and author of *One Thousand Beards*. "It is an act of rebellion. Men are trying to prove that they are no corporate slave."

Like the rise and fall of women's hemlines, the presence and shape of hair on men's faces has often been a barometer of the national mood. Though hipsters began sporting goatees in the 1950s, the more widespread return of the beard in the '60s became an emblem of the defiant counterculture's refusal to go along with the status quo. The cause of the current revival is more difficult to pin down. For some, it's simply a matter of

Hairy trend setters

Clockwise from top, Foo Fighters' Dave Grohl, TV's David Letterman, The Sopranos' James Gandolfini, Patriots quarterback Tom Brady, rapper Kanye West, actors Ryan Gosling and Brad Pitt, Governor Bill Richardson



Illustration for TIME by Wes Duval

wanting to be in vogue. In the past year, male models have been strutting their scruff on runways, in fashion magazines and in ads for stores like Banana Republic. Brad Pitt walked the red carpet with one at the Screen Actors Guild Awards. "Beards are a great accessory for men," says John Allan, a grooming guru and owner of a namesake chain of upscale male salons. "Like fake eyelashes for women."

Peterkin notes that as it did 40 years ago, the acceptance of beards may coincide with mounting opposition to an unpopular war. "Just like with hippies in the '60s, facial hair represents a visible sign of protest," he says. "It could be an anti-militaristic expression." For some, it's again a way to set themselves apart at a time when people are unhappy with the country's political and business leadership and uncertain about its economic future. Matthew Turtell, 25, an associate marketing manager at Rodale, says that his on-again, off-again beard helps him feel different from other working stiffs. "Even when I'm in a suit and tie, my beard helps remind me that I'm not conforming," he says.

New Mexico governor Bill Richardson's new beard symbolizes another kind of independence. He started growing it after dropping out of the race for the Democratic presidential nomination. "I am revolting against my campaign consultants," he said. "For an entire year, every day was programmed. Now that I am wearing a beard, I can finally reflect and decompress."

Recently, facial hair has also emerged as a badge of honor, a way to demonstrate support for a cause or express camaraderie. Conan O'Brien and David Letterman grew beards to show support for the writers' strike, and some members of the New

England Patriots offensive line have said that ditching the razor blade helped unify the team. Last fall, for the first time ever in the U.S., around 2,000 men participated in November—a monthlong mustache-growing competition that raises money for the Prostate Cancer Foundation.

Still, there are holdouts. Most police departments continue to outlaw beards, claiming they make officers look unprofessional. The management of the New York Yankees also refuses to let players wear facial hair below the upper lip. And then there are unspoken prohibitions in many parts of the corporate world. "I should have a right to wear my own facial hair as I please," says Justin Wolff, 32, a student at Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law in New York City, who hopes to keep his short beard when he starts working next year. "But I am not going to risk my job over it."

A bigger threat to the beard may be its growing popularity. "Once beards become completely acceptable, they are no longer a statement of individuality," says Phil Olson, founder of Beard Team USA, which competes in international facial-hair-growing competitions. (At last year's world championships, the hirsute Americans finished first in five out of 17 categories, including best freestyle mustache.) That loss of distinction, coupled with the fact that nearly two-thirds of women prefer their men clean-shaven, according to a Harris Interactive poll, was enough to stop Anthony Tokarchyk, 27, an entrepreneur who lives in Huntingdon Valley, Pa., from keeping his scruff of nearly a year.

Don't tell my husband that, though. Now that we have made it past the itchy, patchy phase, I find myself among that one-third of women who kinda like it. ■

HEALTH

Pumping Up The Workout.

New routines are putting fun into being fit

BY ELISABETH SALEMME

EXERCISE CLASSES HAVE COME A long way since the days of step aerobics and Jazzercise. And in an effort to counter the crammed schedules and low motivation that millions of people use as excuses for not going to the gym, fitness gurus keep coming up with inventive ways to work out that promise to be enjoyable and effective for both tenderfeet and old hands. Here are three new techniques that have recently begun to catch on in health clubs around the country.

Hirsute History. Facial-hair trends over the past 50 years



1950s

Vandyke

This trim cousin of the goatee, popularized by jazzman **Dizzy Gillespie**, was adopted by beatniks and others who wanted to look hip



1960s

Full Beard

Rockers like **Jerry Garcia** and hippies protesting the Vietnam War sported long, scruffy hair to signal their break with the mores of older generations



1970s

Big Mustache

The macho lip growth, famously worn by **Burt Reynolds**, shouted virility and became a signature look for newly liberated gay men



1980s

Stubble

Don Johnson's sexy 5 o'clock shadow on TV's Miami Vice was playful, a retreat from the political intensity of the previous decade



1990s

Goatee

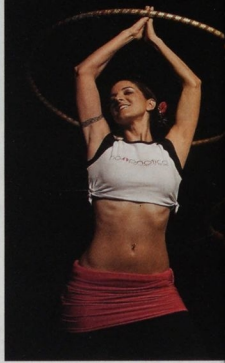
First seen on rebels like **Johnny Depp**, this quietly defiant display of masculinity may have been part of a backlash to feminism



2000s

Short Beard

Neatly trimmed stubble is emerging as a symbol of challenging the status quo in the manner of trailblazers like **Apple's Steve Jobs**





Hoopng

The hula hoop, a backyard mainstay since the 1950s, has been drafted for gym duty—only now it's larger and heavier and requires more dexterity to maneuver. In classes set to music, exercisers learn a series of moves that, when combined, work a variety of muscles. "You get the whole body involved," says Rayna McInturf, founder of Los Angeles-based Hoopnotica, the largest adult-size-hoop retailer.

BENEFITS: Hooping adds fun to exercise, which means people are more likely to actually do it. "It takes you back to your childhood," says Dr. Cedric Bryant of the American Council on Exercise. "And for many people, their last positive experience with being physically active was in their childhood." Another plus: It works the body's core and can help participants burn more than 400 calories an hour.

RISKS: Like any exercise, hooping can be harmful if participants don't stretch properly.

AVAILABILITY: Though hooping studios are sprinkled throughout the country, it can be done anywhere, partly because of the recent release of two instructional DVDs from Hoopnotica.

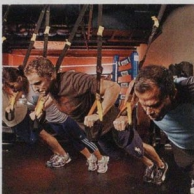
Suspension

Designed by former Navy SEALs, the Total-body Resistance Exercise (TRX) Suspension Trainer uses heavy-duty nylon webbing, attached to wall brackets, to increase resistance as users perform traditional exercises.

BENEFITS: The TRX works the entire body. "When you do a biceps curl, your core is engaged and all of your supporting muscles are working," says Fraser Quelch, director of training and programming at Fitness Anywhere, which makes the equipment.

RISKS: Users who push themselves too hard can incur injuries.

AVAILABILITY: Personal trainers nationwide have adopted the TRX, and health-club chains like Crunch, below, use it in group classes.



Fusion

Blending two popular forms of exercise—yoga and spinning—makes for a stimulating mind-body workout. Most yoga-spin classes include a full spinning session followed by a full yoga session, while some take an integral approach, interspersing a few minutes on the bike with a few on the mat.

BENEFITS: Cardio-intensive cycling followed by flexibility-increasing yoga helps stretch and condition muscles to perform optimally during spinning.

"Injuries occur all the time in group fitness classes because they don't bring proper flexibility to the workouts," says Donna Cyrus, senior vice president of programming at Crunch. "This technique gives a well-rounded workout."

RISKS: Switching activities too quickly could result in injury.

AVAILABILITY: Crunch offers classes at most locations, and some independent gyms are also embracing fusion. ■



TRAVEL

How Green Is Your Mountain.

As snowy peaks warm up, the ski industry gets environmentally active

BY LISA McLAUGHLIN

THE BRIGHT SUN, THE COLD CRISP AIR, THE thrill of schussing down a snow-packed mountain surrounded by powder and pine. On the surface, there would seem to be few better ways to celebrate Nordic nature than with a ski vacation—until you consider the wildlife displaced by the trails, the ecosystems destroyed by artificial snow and the energy-hungry lifts, snow machines and hotels that are an integral part of a skiing holiday. Not to mention the miles in the SUV to get everyone there. Ski resorts by their very nature have a pretty big carbon

footprint. They are also an industry that takes a direct hit from global warming. According to the Swiss Federal Institute for Snow and Avalanche Research, based in Davos, rising temperatures are leading to changes in snowfall patterns: Alpine areas below 1,600 m (5,250 ft.) now receive 20% less snow than in previous decades. On the slopes in the U.S. and Europe, the season is shorter, and in Scotland there has been so little snow that ski resorts are being turned into mountain-biking courses. In an unfortunate cycle, warmer winters mean less snow, and less real snow means that more artificial snow is made, which uses enor-

mous amounts of energy and in turn exacerbates climate change. It's no wonder that ski resorts are implementing eco-friendly practices ranging from wind-powered lifts to green building initiatives.

Last summer Jimmy Peak Mountain Resort in Hancock, Mass., became the first ski area to install its own wind turbine; nearly half the resort's energy needs are provided by the 1.5-MW tower. Producing its own energy also allows the resort to shield guests from higher room rates caused by rising electricity prices. At Vermont's Killington Resorts, the diesel-powered snow-making compressors are being replaced with low-emission machines, which should reduce emissions 50% next year. Buck Hill Ski Area in Burnsville, Minn., buys enough wind power to run 85% of its operations. And Mammoth Mountain in California's Sierra Nevada has cut propane use by 70,000 gal. (26,000 L) per year since 2000. "Our resorts are all about people wanting to be outside," says Rob Katz, CEO of Vail Resorts, where 100% of power is offset by wind credits. "We are using this spectacular place, so it's our responsibility to take care of it."

Jackson Hole Mountain Resort
The Wyoming spot powers several of its chairlifts with wind energy



'Guests are interested in being green as long as they are comfortable. It's possible to do both.'

—BOB TROTTER, GENERAL MANAGER, WESTIN RIVERFRONT RESORT & SPA

Vail Resorts is involved with local forest-conservation projects and is planning an entire eco-sensitive neighborhood development called Ever Vail. At 9.5 acres (4 hectares), it will be the largest resort in the U.S. certified by Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) and will join other LEED-approved resorts like the Hotel Terra Jackson Hole, which opened on Jan. 29 in Wyoming. Positioned on the mountain to make the best use of natural light and save electricity, the Terra also uses 34% less water than traditional resorts and has begun a pilot program for disposing food waste, which is important in a mountain climate in which food scraps can take as long as two years to decompose. "Our guests are interested in being green as long as they are comfortable," says Bob Trotter, general manager of the Westin Riverfront Resort & Spa, which will open in Avon, Colo., this spring. "And it's possible to do both. Our riverfront park is a beautiful amenity, but it's also designed to preserve the natural wetlands habitat. Good design benefits us all." In modest ways, skiing green can benefit the planet too.

An Eco-Friendly Course Barriers and solutions

THE TARGET	THE PROBLEM	THE GREEN APPROACH
Energy production	 Ski lifts and snow-makers use massive amounts of electricity and diesel fuel	Aspen Skiing Co. offsets 100% of its energy with wind power and makes snow with a speck of dust to lessen the water and energy used
Transportation	 All those SUVs traveling back and forth to the slopes consume a lot of gas	In Colorado, Copper Mountain uses energy-efficient buses, and the gondolas at Winter Park Resort serve as public transportation
Building materials	 Nonlocal or non-recycled materials increase pollution by using more fossil fuels	Roof tiles made from recycled tires are being used at the Westin Riverfront; 80% of the steel used in the Hotel Terra is recycled

When he checked in, he was Mr. Simmons.



When he checked out, he was just plain Bob.

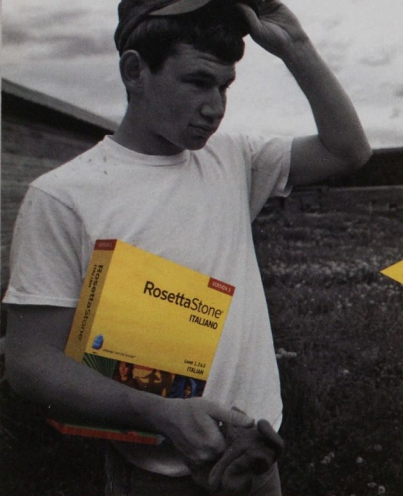
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LISA McLAUGHLIN, ON TYRRELLS POTATO CHIPS

Global Business

MEGACITIES ■ SMALL BUSINESS



Tight arrival The city needs a bigger airport, but squatters are crowded nearby

MEGACITIES

Remaking Mumbai. India's biggest city has to move its productive poor, carefully, to build needed infrastructure

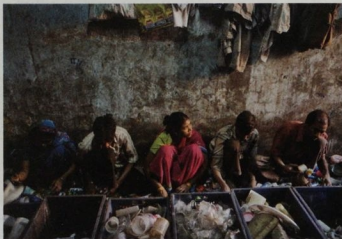
BY SIMON ROBINSON/DHARAVI

THERE'S NOT MUCH THAT THE INHABITANTS of Dharavi can't recycle. Every day thousands of workers in India's most crowded slum—600,000 people squeezed into 500 acres (200 hectares) in the heart of Mumbai—shred plastic, mend clothes, strip computers, sort and bundle paper, fix machinery, flatten cardboard and clean and crush glass. The level of specialization

is extraordinary. In the workshop of Abdul Salaam, two women use hammers to deftly pound the metal nibs out of the ends of dozens of plastic pen refills that they clutch like handfuls of fat spaghetti. Someone else will clean the refills, and a third group will shred the plastic into tiny granules that Salaam then sells for a profit of about \$0.05 per lb. (\$0.02 per kg). "New goods have very high rates," he explains over the relentless hammering. "There is profit

in old stuff if you know how to find it."

Mumbai authorities apparently agree. The state government of Maharashtra, of which Mumbai (formerly Bombay) is the capital, wants to raze dozens of slums like Dharavi for redevelopment and new infrastructure as part of its multibillion-dollar plan to turn the city into a world-class financial center by 2015. No one doubts that India's business capital needs a makeover. Bad roads and inefficient or nonexistent



Poverty and productivity Dharavi's hutments are honeycombed with entrepreneurs such as these workers, who collect, sort, wash and cut discarded plastic

public transport make getting around Mumbai a nightmare; monsoon rains and clogged rivers and drains regularly submerge whole sections of the city. In areas wet and dry, however, property prices are higher than those in midtown Manhattan. But the redevelopment plans will displace up to half the 14 million to 18 million people in India's largest city and challenge the idea that poor and rich can live side by side in a tumultuous democracy. Even the poorest in Mumbai agree that the city needs to change. But, they ask, at what cost?

Dharavi was created by a flood of humanity—thousands of poor immigrants crowded into Mumbai during the past century and built an incredible jumble of two- and three-story “hutments” constructed of concrete, corrugated tin and even cardboard. The tiny rooms—often as small as 100 sq. ft. (9 sq m)—can house more than a dozen people from two or three families at night and double as work-places by day. Hundreds of people share common toilets and water supplies—the narrow walkways run with

human waste. At the same time, Dharavi's entrepreneurial spirit not only produces millions of dollars in exports but also has created a vibrant community, one that happens to occupy some of the most expensive land in the world.

For decades, various government schemes to redevelop Dharavi and Mumbai's growing number of other slums have gone nowhere. Now the government says it is serious about change. Nineteen property developers, some of them huge non-Indian companies such as Emaar from Dubai and Hutchison Whampoa from Hong Kong, have expressed interest in a scheme that would transplant 50,000 families into new apartments with running water, flush toilets and communal centers. The successful bidders would be free to use the remaining land for their own


projects, potentially worth billions, some of which would fund infrastructure work. “People should have a good living,” says D.R. Hadadare, chief engineer of the Maharashtra Housing & Area Development Authority, who oversees the

technical specifications of the scheme. “At the moment too many people don't have access to the basics.”

But Mumbai's slum dwellers are suspicious that the plan is a way to force them out of the city. And they are not powerless. Despite government reassurances, they worry that the new seven-story apartment blocks will be built on the city's outskirts, far from where they work and where their kids go to school. Even if the new apartments—which the government promises will be a minimum of 225 sq. ft. (21 sq m) each—are built nearby, residents complain, operating factories seven floors up will be impossible. They are ground-level operators who require lots of interaction with other nearby factories and traders. “The idea is not improving the lot of Dharavi,” says Jockin Arputham, the feisty president of the National Slum Dwellers Federation. “It's about how to make money out of Dharavi by selling the land.”

Arputham says his supporters don't oppose the scheme in principle—“I totally agree with it; the policy is good”—but criticize its implementation, which he says unfairly favors developers. “Every living person in Dharavi wants development, but





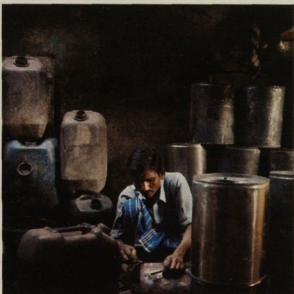
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Infrastructure needed Men wash near an open sewer by corrugated metal hutments, top left. A worker reconditions metal, top right and above, for recycling

it should be people-centered, not money-centered," he said in his small, bare concrete office one recent evening. "They say they want a world-class city, but how can anybody on the earth create a world-class city without involving 60% of its people?"

One of the specific sticking points is a technical matter: the floor-space index (FSI), which measures building density. Many cities around the world have an FSI in the high single digits. New York City's average FSI is about 12; Mumbai's is just 1, one reason this huge city with so few tall buildings can be so expensive. The conundrum is that Mumbai could not cope with more tall buildings without massive improvements in its drains, roads and public transport. The government's slum plans offer developers an average FSI of 2.5. Arputham says this is proof that big companies will get the better bargain and wants more "incentives" for average people.

Still, the two sides seem to be creeping toward an understanding. Mumbai's masses may be poor, but they do vote, a fact that political parties have long banked on (and often cynically exploited) and that both Arputham and government officials are quick to note. "It is a participatory approach," says chief engineer Hadadare. "We want to talk, not to bulldoze them. That's democracy. I think it will work, and if it does, it can be a model."

Mumbai desperately needs one. Take its creaking airport. Founded in fields on the

city's edge more than six decades ago, the Chhatrapati Shivaji International Airport is now squeezed by roads, slums, apartment blocks and hotels. With 25 million passengers a year, it is India's busiest airport and one of the 40 busiest in the world. But it is also tiny: just 2,000 acres (800 hectares) of land compared with 25,000 acres (10,000 hectares) in Kuala Lumpur, which serves a similar number of passengers. Over the years, slum encroachment on three sides of the airport has eaten up 276 acres (112 hectares), further hemming in airport operators. In May 2006 the government privatized the airport to encourage its renewal. The new owners, an Indian-South African consortium, have already built a sparkling new domestic terminal. But relocating the 350,000 people essentially squatting on airport land may prove more troublesome. The consortium's lead company, GVK, says it has identified about half the land it needs to fulfill its contract to build new apartments for all the slum dwellers. But finding more land close to

the airport may be tough, which is sure to increase local resistance. "We have colleges, schools and everything close by," says Gracy Perereia, 21, a student who lives with her family in a tiny sliver of hutments wedged between a highway and the end of a runway. "Sixty, seventy percent of the people here work at the airport. How will they get there if they put us miles away?"

With better infrastructure. What may finally turn years of talk about a new Mumbai into reality is India's booming economy and what GVK spokesman Manish Kalghatgi calls a political "consensus that as India itself is emerging as a business destination, you should have infrastructure that meets those aspirations." A massive new highway perched on pylons rising from the seafloor will take traffic off Mumbai's overcrowded streets, out across its biggest bays and around some of its many peninsulas and islands, while work on a long-planned subway system may begin soon. Policymakers sometimes argue that the delays caused by the burdens of democracy and bureaucratic dithering may hurt their country in the short term but encourage much healthier and more inclusive long-term growth. There is no better test case for that sentiment than the redevelopment of Dharavi. Get it right, and Mumbai's experience can really be a lesson to the world's other megacities. Get it wrong, and Mumbai will choke on its own poverty and prosperity alike. ■

Mumbai, India's Financial Capital

Population

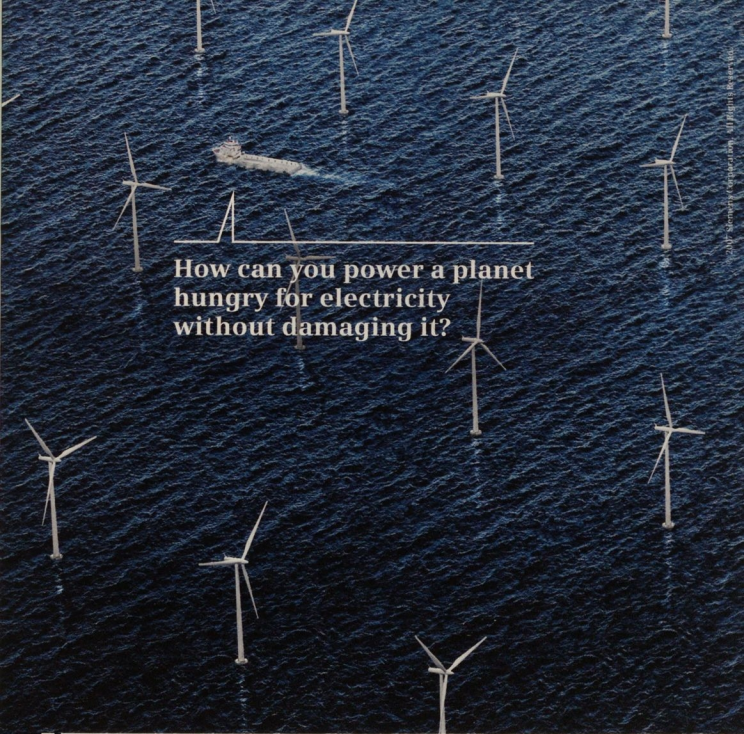
Estimates range from 14 million to 18 million

Population density

69,767 people per sq. mile (27,209 per sq. km)

Biggest companies

- Indian Oil
- Reliance Industries
- Tata Group
- Bharat Petroleum
- Hindustan Petroleum



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SIEMENS

Tastemaker When his potato farm turned into a lemon, Chase made lemonade



SMALL BUSINESS

The Yankee Chipper. An English farmer takes a cue from the Americans to give British "crisps" a new identity

BY LISA McLAUGHLIN

GROWING UP IN THE RURAL TOWN OF Leominster in England's Herefordshire County, William Chase always knew he would follow his father into farming. As a teenager, he worked on the family's Tyrrells Court farm, and in 1984, at age 20, he bought the place from his father with a \$400,000 bank loan. Heavily in debt from the start, the farm faltered, and the bank called the loan in 1992. Chase was forced to declare bankruptcy.

Determined to make a success of his family legacy, Chase leased back part of the farm from the receivers until he could afford to buy it all back, eventually relaunching Tyrrells Court as a potato grower. By the mid-1990s, the farm was profitable, and Chase had set up a successful sideline as a consultant and broker between farmers and major supermarket chains. But when the supers started squeezing farmers on price by sourcing cheaper spuds from Eastern Europe, Chase knew he had to diversify. "It was time for something new," he says.

His inspiration came in late 2001 when French-fry king McCain (which supplies McDonald's) rejected a batch of Chase's taters because they were frying up too dark. "I sold the batch to a specialty-crisp maker instead," says Chase, *crisp* being the British word for potato chip. (A chip in Britspeak is a French fry.) Tasting the finished product made him think he could do better. With a secondhand fryer, Chase began experimenting with his own potato chips. Yes, chips in the American sense. "It's potato chips and not crisps," he explains, "because with crisps they slice them too thinly and wash all the starch

'We are a premium product. Once we are on the shelves of a supermarket and they start discounting the price, we are no longer premium.'

—WILLIAM CHASE, FOUNDER AND OWNER OF TYRRELLS

off." That causes the resulting product to absorb more of the oil, so "they have no potato taste."

Finding inspiration in American-made artisanal chips, Chase hopped a plane to Boston to see how Cape Cod hand-stirred kettle chips were made. Munching his way through the U.S., he went to Pennsylvania's Amish country, where "there are just loads of little chips makers." After benchmarking the best, Chase returned to Tyrrells Court and began cooking. The first batches of Tyrrells Potato Chips reached stores in the summer of 2002, with four flavors: chili, cider vinegar, cheese and black pepper. Within eight months, Chase was turning over \$2 million worth of business. Within three years, Tyrrells was boasting sales of \$10 million a year.

None of those came from the major supermarkets who once pounded him on potato pricing: with the exception of Waitrose, the chips are stocked only in independent delicatessens and farm shops. The average order is just \$300. When Chase found out last year that retail biggie Tesco was sourcing the chips through diverters, he squawked until the product was pulled.

The decision to distribute through small retailers was twofold. Yes, revenge is sweet for a small farmer whose livelihood was made so tenuous by the chains. He said then, "Tesco finished us as a potato farmer, so we got into the specialty-crisp trade. If we had sold these through Tesco, it could have finished that too." There's also his fear of being commoditized again. "We are a premium product, and that's the way we will remain," says Chase. "Once we are on the shelves of a supermarket and they start discounting the price, we are no longer premium. And we don't have the resources to compete with the big Frito-Lays of the world."

But retaining a sense of the local hasn't stopped global expansion. Tyrrells boasts customers from Russia to China to the U.S., where Chase is amused that his brand is sitting on shelves next to the chips that inspired him. He's a little disappointed that hit U.K. flavors like asparagus with crushed black pepper and duck with orange and ginger have been slow to catch on. "Americans really aren't keen on the asparagus," he says. Right on, on that one.

Chase recently found another way to turn a commodity into a premium product. He created an organic vodka "using the potatoes that are too small to be made into chips." Once again he did his research in the U.S., visiting micro-distilleries. "We have this beautiful copper still from Germany. It is quite a laborious process, but the result is a farm-made, artisanal product, much like our potato chips." No word yet on an asparagus-flavored version. ■

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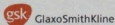
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Arts

TELEVISION BOOKS DOWNTIME



TELEVISION

Becoming Ms. Big. White House, schmite house. TV examines how women handle power in the world of Big Biz

IF HILLARY CLINTON'S CAMPAIGN WERE a TV show, what kind of TV show would it be? Her message focuses on her experience and wonkish policy competence, with a touch of glass-ceiling-breaking empowerment: *The West Wing*, by way of Lifetime. Yet voters came to know her as both a political figure and the star of a domestic drama: her husband's infidelity and impeachment. "She has the soapiest personal story, combined with the potential to be the most powerful leader in the world," says Darren Star, former producer of *Sex and the City*. "The tension between the two is what's really interesting to me. Women's careers have changed, but in many ways their personal lives haven't."

Call it a feminist soap opera, then, which is not the contradiction in terms it might seem. Feminism gave us the mantra "The personal is political." And that can cut two ways. Hillary has relied on a connection with women as an electoral base. She's had her cleavage and her tears pored over by the media and benefited from the backlash. She's had Chris Matthews, host of MSNBC's

➔ MORE TELEVISION
To read more by James Poniewozik, go to his blog, [tuned in](http://tuned.in), at time.com/tunedin

Hardball—is there a more male title in all of TV?—claim that "the reason she may be a front runner is her husband messed around," had

Rush Limbaugh asking whether America wants to watch a woman aging in the Oval Office and faced a young guy yelling "Iron my shirt!" at a rally. (Not to mention: a male journalist writes about a woman presidential candidate—and of course he

'The right handbag or shoes are fun, but for successful women I know, the real glamour in life is achievement.'

—LIPSTICK JUNGLE'S BUSHNELL

runs with the "soap opera" metaphor)

So it's one of those inexplicable feats of pop-culture timing that this is also the season of the feminist soap opera in prime-time TV. *Cashmere Mafia* on ABC and *Lipstick Jungle* on NBC both center on high-income, high-powered, high-style Manhattan friends who talk business and love lives over expense-account lunches. In the process they raise some of the same questions the presidential race does: Is women's success held against them? Can they be different yet equal? Can they stand by their men and get stood by in return?

If the shows recall *Sex and the City*—which returns as a movie this summer—it's no coincidence. *Cashmere* is produced by Star, *Lipstick* by Candace Bushnell, who wrote the newspaper column SATC was based on. SATC combined a fashion-conscious urban fairy tale with sharp observation of the trade-offs working women face: a little glass slipper, a little glass ceiling. It was a love story that was also about loving yourself; the series ended with Carrie Bradshaw (Sarah Jessica Parker) persuading wealthy flame Mr. Big to move to New York City—where her life and career were—rather than moving for him.

Cashmere and *Lipstick* borrow this setting but give their characters promotions, husbands, kids and a lot more cash. (As Star

says, they can actually afford the clothes we saw on SATC.) *Cashmere*'s quartet includes a hotel coo, an investment banker, a marketing executive and a magazine publisher; *Lipstick*'s trio consists of a movie-studio head, a fashion designer and another magazine bigwig. (Memo to producers: Please inform my bosses how lavishly paid magazine workers are supposed to be.)

Says Bushnell: Her new characters are like Carrie & Co.—except that instead of wooing Mr. Big, they've become Ms. Big. "They've figured out a lot more than you've figured out in your 30s," she says. "They can have ideas and be able to fulfill them. The right handbag or shoes are fun, but for successful women I know, the real glamour in life is achievement."

This being TV, the romance of power is balanced by the romance of romance: there are boyfriends, marriages and affairs—his and hers—along with the business intrigue. But the shows also share the theme that stereotypes and double standards don't stop at the door of a corner office; the same behavior that gets applauded in men gets women labeled ice queens, bad mothers and bitches. In *Cashmere*, publisher Mia (Lucy Liu) is asked to sign off on a men's magazine cover, for a story about predatory businesswomen, with a terrified man on a dinner plate and a pair of nail-polished hands about to dig in. "It's the zeitgeist," a male editor tells her. "Female execs are taking over. Movie studios, Silicon Valley, maybe our next President—God help us."

Perhaps he just disagrees with Hillary's health-care platform. But as Martha Stewart and Katie Couric have discovered, high-powered women are prone to the Goldilocks dilemma: This one's too hard! That one's too soft! "Women aren't allowed to express their ambitions sometimes," says Oliver Goldstick, writer-producer of *Lipstick*. "There's a long tradition of Hollywood pictures where powerful women are punished for their success."

A third of married women in the U.S. earn more than their husbands, but it's still a challenge to make the problems of big shots appeal to a mass audience. Some of the stories on *Lipstick* and *Cashmere* are universal: both have had plots about juggling work with a son's birthday party. Others are less so: What to do when your nanny raids the good Bordeaux or writes a tell-all roman à clef about you?

Not everyone is going to identify with people whose biggest problem is being oppressed by the household help. *Cashmere*'s ratings have been weak—although that may have more to do with its cardboard characters and predictable, Soap 101 story lines than its milieu. Like too many SATC clones, it's glib but not insightful, and its



The second sex As TV rewrites its formula, *Sex and the City* is getting a big-screen release

Reality Check: Women, Work and Money

Here are the actual percentages of women in the high-level jobs that these TV vixens hold down and what they might be paid in a big city like New York, including bonuses but not free clothes — BY TIFFANY SHARPLES



85%

▲ FASHION DESIGNER

Income varies widely for the job Lindsay Price has in *Lipstick*

Median salary: \$87,300

20%

► CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER

Miranda Otto is a hotel exec in *Cashmere*

Median salary: \$258,000



50%

▲ MAGAZINE EDITOR

At fashion mags like *Nico's* (Kim Raver), there are more women

Median salary: \$139,000



15%

▲ INVESTMENT BANKER

Cashmere Mafia's Frances O'Connor is in a boys' club

Median salary: \$438,000



35%

▲ MOVIE EXECUTIVE

Brooke Shields' Wendy balances a big studio job and a family in *Lipstick*

Median salary: \$110,000



20%

▲ MARKETING EXECUTIVE

Bonnie Somerville is cosmetics executive Caitlin in *Cashmere*

Median salary: \$256,000

30%

▲ MAGAZINE PUBLISHER

Ambitious publisher Mia is played by Lucy Liu in *Cashmere*

Median salary: \$184,000



Source: Payscale.com

characters seem like a random quartet of women with no real chemistry as friends.

Lipstick's funnier and more sophisticated, fitting better in *sarc's* Jimmy Choos. It's driven by the power trio's layered friendship: mogul mom Wendy (Brooke Shields) is the big sister of the group, designer Victory (Lindsay Price) the angsty young sib, and editor Nico (Kim Raver) the deceptively low-key one. The men are neither pigs nor saints, and the women are not perfect—Nico is having an affair, as much a betrayal of her friends, whom she hides it from, as of her husband. But the show makes them seem normal and grounded in contrast to a world of crazy, amoral rich people. (When Wendy refuses her young daughter a cell phone, another mom jadedly counsels, "Give her the phone, and be grateful it's not an abortion.")

This isn't the kind of picture of women and money that has mainly sold on TV lately, though. Take the Golden State hausfrau of Bravo's reality hit *The Real Housewives of Orange County*, whose concerns are boob jobs, baubles and Botox. ("One of my biggest goals now is to look as hot as I can," declares one.) And in Bravo's *The Millionaire Matchmaker*, dating guru Patti Stanger hooks up single women with

sugar daddies, warning one not to introduce herself as a doctor: "If you lead with your business font, the man's ding dong down there neutralizes and goes down. He doesn't want to compete in the bedroom!"

Ironically, some of the strongest women in recent TV have been in shows aimed at men. Fox's hit *Terminator: The Sarah Connor Chronicles* and *NBC's Chuck* feature men being protected by superpowerful women (O.K., superhot too). The TV season has been full of nerdy, sensitive men (*The Big Bang Theory*, *Pushing Daisies*) and dominating women (*Damages*, *Bionic Woman*). Most of those shows target young men, who—born after the equal-rights movement and in the era of divorce—might have had female bosses or been raised by single moms. For them, female authority figures may be many things, but they are not anomalies.

This is not to say men are now unthreatened by women in power—just ask

the "Iron my shirt" guy. It is to say that people are less monolithic than the narratives of politics and show biz have made them out to be. *Lipstick* takes a step toward showing that. For instance, the publisher of the tell all unfairly labeling Wendy a "bad mommy" turns out to be a woman (Lorraine Bracco).

The TV show with the most nuanced take on gender now is actually a sitcom: *30 Rock*. Through comedy-show producer Liz Lemon (Tina Fey)—a woman middle manager in an overgrown-boys' field—it has dealt with topics from misogynist swear words to the gap between baby-boom and Gen-X feminists with a gender consciousness that's unashamed but unafraid to make fun of itself. (In one flashback, teenage Liz sues her high school to become placekicker on the football team; she flubs a kick and cheers, "Yeah! Feminism!") Liz isn't powerful enough to be in a mafia yet, but in 10 years she might join one. Or change it.

And her politics? "There is an 80% chance in the next election," she says in one episode, "that I will tell all my friends that I'm voting for Barack Obama but I will secretly vote for John McCain." Hillary, take note. Maybe she's still persuadable. ■

Not everyone is going to identify with people whose biggest problem is being oppressed by the household help

Hate in the Time of Free Love



THERE PROBABLY weren't really that many murderous hippies running around in the

1960s, but you wouldn't know it from the novels of the past decade. Ever since Merry Levov blew up a post office in Philip Roth's *American Pastoral*, it has been like one long, literary Altamont: Russell Banks, T.C. Boyle, Susan Choi, Christopher Sorrentino and Dana Spiotta have all written books about nut-job flower children. And here come two more: Peter Carey's *His Illegal Self* (Knopf; 272 pages) and Hari Kunzru's *My Revolutions* (Dutton; 288 pages). Didn't anybody just leave it at taking illegal drugs and having promiscuous sex?

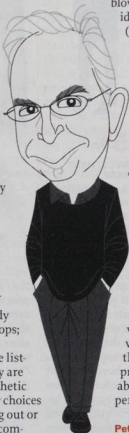
His Illegal Self is about a boy named Che whose mom accidentally blows herself up making bombs for a Weathermen-style group. (The specter of Weatherwoman Kathy Boudin haunts all these books.) A fellow traveler named Dial (short for *dialectic*, ugh) scoops Che up and flees with him to Australia, where she and Che hide out with a band of smelly rural hippies. There is nobody who is not a drag in this book: the cops; the angry, self-righteous American radicals who fight the cops; even the listless Australian hippies, though they are (I think) supposed to be the sympathetic ones. You're left feeling that the only choices are being violently idealistic, selling out or subsistence farming on a flyblown com-

mune, and you can't tell which is worst.

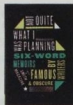
Kunzru's *My Revolutions* stages the same dilemma more deftly in the story of ex-radical Chris Carver, who's living in deep cover in placid suburban England 30 years after his crew went on a bombing spree. Kunzru's theme is summed up in the circularity of the title: when Chris' cover gets blown, he has to confront the way idealism becomes what it opposes ("War can only be abolished through war") and the way lies—like Carver's capitalist-pig identity—can turn into the truth.

Meanwhile, Choi's new book, *A Person of Interest* (Viking; 356 pages), is set after the 1960s, but it's also got bombs. A shy, touchy Asian math professor is falsely suspected of mailing explosives to computer experts, tidily recalling both scientist Wen Ho Lee and the Unabomber.

It's not that these books don't ring true. They're just weirdly uninterested in how little of '60s protest culture involved violence and how much it actually did accomplish. You get the feeling that attacking idealists of the past—indeed, associating them with terrorism—is a backhanded way of excusing the miserable, apathetic state of political protest in the present. At least the hippies cared about something—even if it wasn't personal hygiene. —BY LEV GROSSMAN



Peter Carey



Is That All There Is?

In *Not Quite What I Was Planning* (Perennial; 225 pages), people sum up their life story in six words:

'Revenge is living well, without you.'

—JOYCE CAROL OATES

'Well, I thought it was funny.'

—STEPHEN COLBERT

'Came, saw, conquered, had second thoughts.'

—HAROLD RAMIS

'Liars, hysterectomy didn't improve sex life!'

—JOAN RIVERS

'Brought it to a boil, often.'

—MARIO BATALI

'Secret to life: marry an Italian.'

—NORA EPHRON

Can Suffering Kill God?

THE TITULAR ISSUE IN BART Ehrman's book *God's Problem* (HarperOne; 304 pages) haunts him. Once a Baptist pastor, Ehrman recounts how trying to unravel the ferocious conundrum—of a kind, all-powerful deity who also allows suffering—undid his faith. Since then, as a religion professor and best-selling author (2005's *Misquoting Jesus*), he has knowledgeably sub-

verted his old beliefs. Here his biblical expertise is a help and a hindrance, since his conceit is to examine only explanations of suffering that appear in Scripture. As Ehrman takes issue with pain—portrayed as punishment for sin (in *Genesis* et al.), as a consequence of others' sin (in the *Psalms*), as a redemptive act (the Gospels) or as an unknowable part of Providence (*Job*)—Scripture



does come to seem inconsistent and insufficient.

Ehrman's problem, however, is that although the Bible sets out to do a lot of things,

tweezing out a systemic argument on suffering isn't one of them. Those who attempted that came later (posing it, for instance, as a consequence of the gift of free will), and Ehrman engages them only slantingly. Were he to confront their ideas in earnest, he would present his disbelief with a stiffer challenge and readers with a more useful book. —BY DAVID VAN BIEEMA

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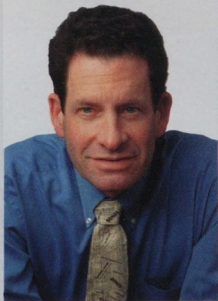
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MOVIES

The Band's Visit Written and directed by Eran Kolirin; rated PG-13; opens Feb. 8 in New York City and L.A. Egypt invades Israel—this time to make music. An eight-man police orchestra, stranded in a desert town, communicates with the wary locals in the lingua franca of English. Debut director Kolirin mines wry wit and humanity from his getting-to-know-you plot. If this film doesn't delight and touch you, maybe you should have your heart examined. **A-**



In Bruges Written and directed by Martin McDonagh; rated R; opens Feb. 8 If it's doomsday, this must be Belgium. Two hit men (Brendan Gleeson and Colin Farrell) are sent to a quaint medieval town by their nasty boss (Ralph Fiennes). Duplicity, death and pitch-black comedy abound, as they do in this playwright turned director's plays. The film is well acted and tightly plotted but, at heart, an exercise in bloody blarney. **B-**



DVDS

Why Did I Get Married? Written and directed by Tyler Perry; rated PG-13; available Feb. 12 The writer-director-star of the *Madea* movies doffs his housedress to play a man in this comedy-drama about a couples' retreat. Janet Jackson joins a vivid cast for the usual artless mix of broad comedy, teary confessions and spiritual uplift. It's a pity Perry dumped the musical numbers from his original play. Feelings his soulful need to be sung—loud. **B**



Marian Child Directed by Mervyn Mayes; script by Seth E. Bass and Jonathan Tolins; rated PG; available Feb. 12 If an alienated kid thinks he's from Mars, you can be sure that the film about him will be from Venus—an ethereal love story that brings a lonely 6-year-old (Bobby Coleman) into the orbit of a needy novelist (John Cusack, in a possibly record-breaking fourth consecutive role as a grieving widower). The frail premise drowns in a tub of bathos. **D**



TELEVISION

Jericho CBS, Tuesdays, 10 p.m. ET.

Like the post-nuclear attack America it chronicles, *Jericho* is coming back from near annihilation. Saved by fan protests, it returns for a leaner, faster-paced, seven-episode Season 2. It dials back some sluggish relationship stories and offers new details about life in the "Allied States of America," split at the Mississippi, on the verge of civil war and prey to a thickening conspiracy. The dialogue's still pulpy, but its action story is the bomb. **B**

MOVIES

Oscar, She Wrote

THREE OF THE FIVE nominees for the Academy Award for Best Original Screenplay have some notable similarities. And, no, it's not just that they're women. Is this what it takes to make it to the boys' table in Hollywood?



DIABLO CODY

Movie: *Juno*
Once worked as: A stripper; a blogger

Unlikely heroine: A punk-loving, pregnant teen



TAMARA JENKINS
Movie: *The Savages*

Once worked as:

A performance artist; an essayist
Unlikely heroine: A lying, cheating failed playwright



NANCY OLIVER
Movie: *Lars and the Real Girl*

Once worked as: A video-game writer
Unlikely heroine: A latex doll named Bianca



A Day to Forget

The best gift for Valentine's Day is to ignore it altogether

BY NANCY GIBBS

I'M SENTIMENTAL ABOUT MANY THINGS: THE LUMPY feel of a baby's unused feet, the metallic smell of the air before the first snow, the last scene in *It's a Wonderful Life*. But Valentine's Day leaves me cold. It's a holiday that has no idea of what it's really celebrating. Or at least no idea of whom it celebrates: St. Valentine could be any of half a dozen Christian martyrs whom the early church recruited to clean up and bless pagan fertility festivals. Of the top candidates, the best known is a priest named Valentinus, who was beheaded by Emperor Claudius the Cruel on Feb. 14, A.D. 269. Upon slim evidence, whole layers of legend are stacked: that Valentinus performed secret weddings after Claudius banned marriage to prevent soldiers from deserting his armies; that he refused to deny Christ and so was thrown in prison, where he healed the jailer's blind daughter; that he fell in love with her and left a note in the cracks of his cell the night before his execution, "From your Valentine."

Now martyrdom is admirable, even preferable, in a saint, but it is terrible in a relationship in which generosity demands payment in guilt. And a celebration that once featured bachelors pulling women's names out of an urn like a door prize and a belief that the first person you spotted on the morning of Feb. 14 would be your mate for life doesn't say much for romance. (Some maids were taught that if they awoke and saw a blackbird, they would marry a clergyman; a bluebird meant a poor man; a robin meant a sailor.) Over the years, Valentine became the patron saint of engaged couples and happy marriages, but also of beekeepers and, of course, greeting-card manufacturers. Love comes with a sting, and at a price.

In the interests of domestic harmony, I should say that my wonderful husband has always handled the day's customs with flair. Our daughters like it for the candy, which now comes in quantities rivaled only by Halloween, with Tootsie Rolls taped to the cards kids hand out. I have no problem with the holiday for 8-year-olds, now that it has shed its Darwinian savagery. Children are expected to bring a valentine for every classmate, unlike the days of our youth, when the teachers would collect the cards in a big red box and then call out names one by one, in a public accounting of exactly how many friends each child actually had.

On the other hand, the idea of 8-year-olds' celebrating a holiday that shimmies into view wearing a negligee does seem odd. But consider the huge commercial stakes:

"The tradition of sending and receiving classroom valentines," observes American Greetings, which owns a \$1.8 billion piece of the "social expression" industry, "is often a child's first experience with greeting cards." A billion cards are sent every year, second only to Christmas, and 85% of them by women. For this we can thank Esther Howland, an entrepreneurial 1847 Mount Holyoke grad, whose father owned a stationery store and who came up with the idea of mass-producing valentines. The Mother of the Valentine never married but did get very rich, racking up annual sales equivalent to more than \$2 million today.

For many of us, though, Valentine's Day only pretends to celebrate what we like about love while actually undermining it. True romance comes unscheduled, unruly, "a madness most discreet," quoth Romeo. Over time, as it ripens into devotion, still it improvises, a favor rendered, a sudden kiss, a private joke, flowers for no reason. Its expression is the very opposite of the fretful, "pre-order now, or be left with drug-store chocolates" connivances that the day promotes. For those who feel well loved, every day, of course, is Valentine's. For the rest, no card can console.

That's why the holiday lends itself so nicely to ridicule. Valentine's Day has inspired its own insurgency, "Singles Awareness Day," in which the unattached celebrate their solitude with a saucy "Happy SA D day." Any holiday that triggers guerrilla opposition should give us pause. "Finding the right Valentine's Day gift is probably the most difficult shopping experience in any man's life," warns AskMen.com, which notes that unlike Christmas or birthday presents, these gifts reflect not only taste and affection "but your degree of commitment as well." Experts argue over subtexts: Is giving lingerie a turn-on or just tacky? Restaurants sweeten the menu and hike the prices; Christian websites offer valentine messages from God. You can buy a heart-shaped potato on eBay. It comes in a red box.

There's nothing wrong, of course, with delighting in love and honoring friendship and stopping in the bleak midwinter to tickle the people we love. But it's also a good sign of psychosocial health if the day just saunters by and winks, and you feel no need to pay attention. The minute it feels like a duty, it has lost its purpose. "Love sought is good," Shakespeare observed, "but given unsought is better."



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VoiceForTheUninsured.org

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